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American Imprints Concerning King's College

By BEVERLY MCANEAR

IN the mid-eighteenth century there appeared a sudden interest in higher education in English America, and in every colony on the mainland there were made proposals to found at least one college. One of the first instances of this movement was the campaign to open a college in New York, a plan eventually carried out in 1754 by the opening of the forerunner of Columbia University. Leadership in this agitation had early been assumed by a group of Anglicans who managed to attract the aid of the provincial political boss, James DeLancey. These men assumed that the school would be a self-governing organization, loosely bound to the Church of England but subsidized from the provincial treasury.

This project was vigorously attacked by a group of young Yale alumni, most of whom were Presbyterians. To some extent they were probably interested in checking a bid for greater power by the Anglicans; to a great degree they were anxious to weaken DeLancey's political machine and to found a new political party responsive to their own leadership. Essentially this movement

represented an effort by the great land-holders to defend their estates from provincial taxation, and leadership of the group was furnished by members of the Livingston clan. In the Livingstons' attacks upon the Anglican plans for the proposed college and upon the DeLancey party, the press was the greatest weapon. Their propaganda naturally inspired reprisals, and from 1752 through 1755 the printers of New York City were busy issuing pamphlets and newspapers for the antagonists.

The campaign of the Livingstons was based on the expectation of a new assembly, an event which rested upon the will of the governor. According to custom, elections were usually ordered by a new governor upon his inauguration, and replacement of this official was constantly expected during the years from 1752 through 1755. Confident of a test at the polls, it was the Livingstons' effort to forge the question of the control of the college into a redoubtable campaign issue. Actually, by the end of 1755 it became clear that elections could not be expected for years, and the Livingstons then dropped their attacks upon King's College. Eventually the institution was granted some public financial support, and the dispute was relegated to the status of a bad memory and a personal grudge.

As King's College, the institution had a rather undistinguished career for over twenty years. Naturally, as time passed, there were student essay contests, student theses, and commencements. All required the aid of the printing-press.

Thus the American imprints concerning King's College may be classified into three categories. The earliest body of material is concerned with the propaganda for the foundation of a college by the province. The development of the Anglican-Livingston quarrel brought from the printing-press a flood of contentious literature devoted to questions of doctrinal prejudice and collegiate organization. Finally, there has survived a rather considerable number of imprints resulting from the educational activities of the established college.

The movement to found a provincial college apparently started in 1746. The advocates of the plan were clergymen and politicians of varied religious affiliations, but the lead was taken by Anglicans and by members of the Dutch Reformed Church sympathetically inclined towards the Church of England. From its first inception the Anglicans expected to have some degree of control of the institution, and public statement of their hopes did not bring immediate objection. Down through 1751 nearly all the propaganda consisted of newspaper articles,[1] but in 1749 there was published the pamphlet *Some Serious Thoughts on The Design of erecting a College in the Province of New-York.* The unknown author was certain that a college would advance both the intellectual level and the moral standards of the province. "A Beau will not be oblig'd to confess himself guilty of a thousand Immoralities he never committed, in order to recommend himself to his Companions: He may then profess some religious Principles without becoming the Scorn of the Company. . . . As for that refin'd Politeness of solliciting People to drink Bumpers—it will vanish at the Dawn of Learning as the Stars before the rising Sun. . . . Infamous, confessedly infamous will be the practices of breaking Windows, and wresting off Knockers."[2]

It cannot be said there was too much enthusiasm shown by the public for the foundation of a college, but a beginning was made for its financial support. The means adopted to raise money were public lotteries, one being authorized in 1746 and a second in 1748. A ticket of the first lottery has been preserved and also a broadside advertising the 1748 drawing.[3] The chances were sold

[1] For example, *The New-York Gazette, revived in the Weekly Post-Boy*, Feb. 4, 1751; *The New-York Evening Post*, May 18, Aug. 17, 1747.

[2] The author used the pseudonym, Hippocrates Mithridate, Apoth. Published at New-York, Iohn Zenger, MDCCXLIX. Evans 6366; Sabin [49754]. A copy is located in the Columbia University Library (CUL). The pamphlet appeared on March 20. *The New-York Weekly Journal*, March 20, 1749.

[3] *New-York, April 20. 1478.* [*1748*] *Advertisement. By a Law passed the last Sessions, a Publick Lottery is directed, for a further Provision towards Founding a College . . .* ([New York, James Parker, 1748]); *New-York Lottery. 1747. Numb.*

with difficulty, but after delays both ventures were completed and £3443 were realized. In 1751 this money was transferred to the control of a board of trustees so that the fund might be loaned at interest.[4]

The Anglicans quickened their campaign to control the college in the fall of 1752. In October there appeared the pamphlet *Some Thoughts on Education: with Reasons for Erecting a College in this Province, and fixing the same at the City of New York. . . .* Published anonymously, its author was William Smith, a young Scot who was nevertheless an Anglican and was destined to become the provost of the Academy and College of Philadelphia.[5] At this time Smith was living on Long Island, acting as a tutor. Finding time hanging heavily on his hands, he had turned to writing verse for amusement. Among his first efforts was "An American Pastoral," a poem he wished to dedicate to the wife of Oliver DeLancey, the hot-tempered brother of Chief Justice James DeLancey. When Oliver heard of this proposal, he promptly confiscated the manuscript of which the author had no

[*4043*] *The Possessor of this Ticket . . .* ([New York, James Parker, 1747]). Two later lotteries were drawn, and a third was ordered but failed. Advertisements and tickets of these later ventures must have been printed, but there can now be located only a ticket for the 1753 drawing: *New-York Lottery. 1753. Numb.* [*1740*] *The Possessor of this Ticket . . .* ([New York, James Parker, 1753]). The advertisement is Evans 6207; not entered in Sabin. Neither ticket is listed in Evans or Sabin. All three items are located in the New York Public Library (NYPL). The broadside is reproduced in I. N. Phelps Stokes, *comp., Iconography of Manhattan Island (1498-1909)* (New York, R. H. Dodd, 1915-1928), IV: plate 35A.

[4] *Colonial Laws of New York from the Year 1664 to the Revolution* (Albany, J. B. Lyon, 1894), III: 842-844.

[5] Published at New-York, J. Parker, 1752. Evans 6935; Sabin 84672. The author's corrected copy is held by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP). The pamphlet appeared on October 24. *N. Y. Post-Boy*, Oct. 23, 1752. Evans does not give the author, but see Albert Frank Gegenheimer, *William Smith Educator and Churchman 1727-1803* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1943), pp. 7, 8.

Smith was not ordained until 1753, and the title by which I designate him above is therefore technically incorrect. However, three other William Smiths—all lawyers—appear in this narrative: William Smith, Senior, a provincial councillor; his son, William Smith, Junior; and William Peartree Smith, a cousin. Some form of consistent differentiation is therefore imperative.

copy. His career as a romantic poet blighted, Smith turned to the consideration of education, and his pamphlet *Some Thoughts* contained 392 lines of "Hobbling" verse.[6] Two weeks after this booklet was published, Smith contributed to the *New-York Mercury* and the *New-York Post-Boy* an identical article proposing that a college be chartered by the governor and that an Anglican, Doctor Samuel Johnson, serve as its first president.[7] In these publications, Smith had announced the Anglican plans: the college was to be opened in New York City at once, and it was to be controlled by Anglicans and governed by a private corporation.

Smith's efforts drew immediate fire. One of his detractors was a prominent New York politician, Lewis Morris, Junior. Morris cared nothing about a college, but his wrath had been aroused by the pamphlet's preface adulating James DeLancey. Morris therefore launched a broadside which made the chief justice furious.[8]

Of more importance, the Reverend William Smith was attacked by William Smith, Junior, and William Livingston as an incompetent self-seeker.[9] These two men, both lawyers, by 1747

[6] H[arris] E[lwood] S[tarr], *William Smith*, in: *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928-1944), XVII: 353, 354; Mrs. Phila DeLancey to W[illiam] Smith, Bloomingdale, Nov. 11, 1752, [William Smith to Mrs. Phila] DeLancey, Long-Island, Nov. 15, 1752, (copy), William Smith Papers, VI: 2, HSP; Smith's copy of *Some Thoughts*, p. 19. In 1758 Smith planned to delete the versified conclusion of the pamphlet in the event of republication. William Smith, "The following to be considered as a Clause or Codicil to my last Will and Testament," Nov. 27, 1758, William Smith Papers, III: 77, 78, HSP.

[7] *The New-York Mercury, N. Y. Post-Boy*, Nov. 6, 1752.

[8] [George Clinton to Robert Hunter] Morris, Dec. 25, 1752, Letter Book, 1752-1753, George Clinton Papers, W. L. Clements Library. Clinton described Morris' publication as a "Tickler." If I am correct in surmising the "tickler" to have been a broadside, it has never been catalogued and no copy can be located. Smith later repented his dedication to DeLancey. Smith's copy of *Some Thoughts*, pp. iii, iv, HSP.

[9] *N. Y. Post-Boy*, Dec. 4, 25, 1752, Jan. 1, 1753; [William Smith, Jr.], "To the Author of the Letter to Goose Adrianse signed Philomathes in Parkers Gazette, 517, by Goose Adrianse Jr. Printed in Mercury 21," Dec. 27, 1752, [William Livingston], "Ode For New Year 1753 In Imitation of an excellent Pattern lately exhibited to the World," endorsed, "Printed in Mercury Number 22 Jan. 8, 1753," Smith Papers, NYPL. In his ode, the Reverend William Smith made no reference to the college. William Smith, *Ode on the New-Year, 1753* (New-York, J. Parker, [1753]). Sabin 84629, but not listed by Evans. There is a copy in HSP. Published

had joined with relatives and former Yale cronies to form a club devoted to the stimulation of both discussion and literary efforts. The product of their pens was either avowedly elevating or pointedly personal. By essays of the latter type they had within six years caused a furore in the Dutch Church of New York City, rejoicingly driven a physician to the point of starvation, wrecked a newly established philosophical society, indulged in a "low smutty" paper war with the judge of vice-admiralty, well-nigh caused a printer's ears to be cropped, and led the eminent attorney, James Alexander, to fire William Livingston from his apprenticeship.[10]

January 1, 1753. *N. Y. Post-Boy*, Jan. 1, 1753. The preface is signed on page iv by William Smith.

[10] William Smith, Junior, was writing essays for the press as early as 1744 "to amuse some ladies," and William Livingston was publishing by 1745. The coterie almost certainly was "clubbing" together before 1747. Most of their material appeared in the newspapers, particularly DeForeest's *Post* and Zenger's *Journal*.

Within a few years the men undertook independent publications. One example was a pamphlet of verse: [William Livingston], *Philosophic Solitude; or, The Choice of a Rural Life. A Poem* (New-York, James Parker, 1747). This lengthy pastoral was introduced by prefaces by W[illiam] P[eartree] S[mith] and by the Reverend N[oah] W[elles] of Stamford, Connecticut. Evans 5986; Sabin 41647. There is a copy in the American Antiquarian Society. Livingston had labored eighteen months on the poem, only to meet criticism from William Smith, Junior, so unflattering as to cause a coolness between the two friends. The author was a better judge of American taste than the critic, for before the Revolution two more printings were issued. [William Livingston], *Philosophic Solitude: or, The Choice of A Rural Life: A Poem* (New York, MDCCXLVII: Boston reprinted, B. Mecom, 1762). Evans 9160. There is a copy in NYPL. [William Livingston], *Philosophic Solitude: or, The Choice of A Rural Life: A Poem* (The Third Edition [printing], New-York, John Holt [1769]. Evans 11315. There is a copy in the New-York Historical Society (NYHS). Livingston also wrote the temperance lecture ascribed to a chief of the Creek Indians. The oration was a hoax, adopted as a dramatic literary device. It appeared first in the *N. Y. Post-Boy*, December 30, 1751, and was later pirated by the Reverend William Smith in his anonymously published *The Speech of a Creek-Indians, against the Immoderate Use of Spirituous Liquors* . . . (London, R. Griffiths, M.DCC.LIV). There is a copy in NYPL.

A few years later, William Smith, Junior, also undertook a major publication with his anonymous pamphlet *Some Critical Observations upon A late Poem, entitled, The Breeches. written by James Porterfield, A. B. and Printed for the Author* (New-York, Ja. Parker, 1750). Evans 6611; Sabin 86634. Neither Evans nor Sabin ascribed the work to Smith, and Evans gave an incorrect title. It was published September 3, 1750. Porterfield was a physician who had been forced to leave Jamaica after a quarrel. *The Breeches* was an effort to satirize the governor and some gentlemen of that island. It was sold by subscription and was printed in New York. The

In 1752 the Livingston coterie appears to have decided that the time was ripe for a political revolution in New York. To achieve their goal, they undertook to attack the DeLancey machine and ultimately to found a political party beneath the leadership of the Livingston family. As a first step, there was launched on November 30, 1752, a weekly paper, normally a four-page folio. It was designed to present a series of essays proposing a variety of political reforms: thereby the DeLancey party would be thrown on the defensive and a campaign platform for the Livingston group might be developed. Most of these articles apparently were written by William Livingston, William Smith, Junior, and John Morin Scott, and William Peartree Smith probably aided. The tone of the publication was to be one of impartial, moral rectitude and therefore the editors first considered naming the sheet the "New York Guardian" and later settled upon the title of *The Independent Reflector*.[11]

There is little doubt that the new weekly caused excitement.

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doctor was also the author of a pamphlet entitled *The Petticoat*, which was probably printed in New York. Neither of Porterfield's works has been catalogued by Evans or Sabin, and I know of no extant copies. Smith probably also wrote the anonymous verse *The Art of Pleading, In Imitation of Part of Horace's Art of Poetry* (New-York, James Parker, 1751). I make this attribution, however, only on the basis of style and the reference to Porterfield in the note on page 16. Not listed by Evans; Sabin 2121. There is a copy in LC. William Smith, Jr. to W. S. Johnson, New York, July 29, 1744, Oct. 30, 1747, March 29, 1748, no date [1748-49], Nov. 28, 1750; William Smith, Jr. to [Mr. Lloyd and W. S. Johnson], New York, March 2, 1747, Johnson Papers, XIII, Connecticut Historical Society (CHS); *N. Y. Post-Boy*, Aug. 19, 1745, Sept. 3, 1750; Franklin Bowditch Dexter, *Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College with Annals of the College History* (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1885-1912), I: 682; [Jonathan Belcher to William Peartree] Smith, Elizabeth Town, Jan. 23, 1752, Belcher Letter Book, 1750-1752, 341, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[11] This weekly was published by J. Parker. Evans 7042; Sabin 34452. There is a set in LC. Rough drafts of several of the essays are to be found in the William Smith Papers, NYPL. Attempts have been made to determine the authorship of the different essays, and a key by a contemporary—John Kinsey—is in the set once owned by him (H. E. Huntington Library 107797). Unfortunately, no one agrees with anyone else, and the available manuscripts have been so extensively revised by men other than the original author that it seems to me to be both fruitless and pointless to seek to establish authorship of separate numbers. See Dorothy Rita Dillon, *The New York Triumvirate* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1949), p. 34, note 4.

Politicians denounced the authors on the streets. Ministers interpreted Presbyterian and deistic propaganda as anticlericalism. Soon Dutch Calvinists were preaching against the *Reflector*, and Anglicans were penning replies for rival newspapers.[12] Thus the beginning of the quarrel between the Livingston club and the Anglican cleric was over doctrinal matters. A few purchasers of the *Reflector* angrily cancelled their subscriptions, but the general public responded with enthusiasm. The original impression of the first six issues was quickly exhausted, and the printer, James Parker, was forced to promise to reprint them for new customers, a pledge he redeemed during the last week of March.[13]

The Livingstons did not begin their attack on the Anglican control of the proposed college until March 22, 1753. In six successive issues of the *Reflector*, the Livingstons detailed their concept of sound collegiate organization: an institution directly controlled by the provincial legislature, financially supported by the commonwealth, and freed from allegiance to any religious sect. Only in such an institution, they maintained, could freedom of thought and tolerance of religion be assured.

The Anglican reply began in the columns of the *New-York Mercury*[14] and was emphasized by the publication on April 11 of

[12] *The Independent Reflector. . . . The Preface* (New-York, [Henry DeForeest], MDCCLIII [1754]), p. 26; Herbert and Carol Schneider, *eds., Samuel Johnson, President of King's College; his Career and Writings* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1929), I: 165, 166; *N. Y. Post-Boy*, Feb. 19, 1753; *Independent Reflector*, Jan. 11, Feb. 8, 1753.

[13] *Ibid.*, Jan. 25, March 1, 1753. There are minor differences between the two impressions in spelling and spacing. I accept the last week of March as the time for the reprinting job because the second printings of Numbers III and IV bear in part the same ornamentation on the mast-head as do Numbers XVII and XVIII. Furthermore, the double-leaded lines concluding the reprints of II-V are badly and characteristically broken and this fault reappears on nearly all issues from XVII through XLIII. Specimens of both impressions are held by LC and the Henry E. Huntington Library (HEHL). At the latter, HL 107794—the William Peartree Smith copy—is the original printing, HL 107797 the reprint.

[14] Most of the issues of the *Mercury* for the early weeks of 1753 have been lost, and we therefore are ignorant of the opening stages of the contest. But see Henry Barclay to Samuel Johnson, April 16, 1753, Hawks Papers, II, Letters of Samuel Johnson: 21, NYHS.

the Reverend William Smith's pamphlet, *A General Idea of the College of Mirania. . . .*[15] In its original form the booklet outlined a Utopian system of education which would provide a broadened curriculum for those planning on a professional life and a utilitarian training for those interested in agriculture and mechanics. However, a partisan note appeared in the suggestion that a model college should properly be governed by the established church as "a reasonable Compliment, to the Constitution. . . ." Furthermore, just as the pamphlet was going to press, Smith in two hours' time added a postscript which applied the maxims of his Utopia to contemporary New York and urged the use of the Anglican prayer-book in the provincial college.[16] The postscript caused *Mirania* to be a turning-point both in Smith's personal career and in the campaign to found a college in New York.

So far as Smith was personally concerned, his essay was to be an important professional asset and yet a liability for years to come. After its publication he was favorably considered for a tutorship at the projected College of New York, and, through the attention the pamphlet drew to him, he apparently was offered a chair in the Philosophy School of the Academy of Philadelphia with the proviso that he induce the proprietors of Pennsylvania to endow the post. Naturally, in his verses commemorating his first visit to the Philadelphia school, Smith made laudatory reference to the contest between New York and Philadelphia for cultural advancement.[17]

[15] Published at New-York, J. Parker and W. Weyman, 1753. Evans 7121; Sabin 84614. There is a copy in NYPL. For date of publication, see *N. Y. Post-Boy*, April 9, 16, 1753.

[16] The original pamphlet is dated March 2, 1753, the postscript April 10. Smith, *Mirania*, pp. 66, 85; Gegenheimer, *Smith*, pp. 14-28; Schneider, *eds., Johnson*, I: 167, 168.

[17] [William Smith], *A Poem On visiting the Academy of Philadelphia, June 1753* (Philadelphia, [B. Franklin and D. Hall], MDCCLIII), pp. 14, 15. Evans 7122; Sabin 84643. There is a copy in HSP. Published June 21, 1753. *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 21, 1753. The preface, dated June 5, 1753, is signed on page iv by William Smith.

Unfortunately, in the postscript to *Mirania*, Smith had reprinted from the *Monthly Review* a paragraph which pointed out certain shortcomings in the English universities. This quotation caused a mild expression of disapproval from Benjamin Franklin and stern chidings from the Reverend Henry Barclay, the rector of Trinity, and the Reverend Samuel Johnson, the rector of Stratford, Connecticut, and the Anglican candidate for the presidency of the New York college. Smith therefore pasted heavy paper over the offending paragraph in those pamphlets yet unsold. But at least one unedited copy fell into the hands of Thomas Secker, the Bishop of Oxford, and Thomas Herring, the Archbishop of Canterbury. As a result, when Smith arrived in England late in 1753, he was rather coolly received. Nevertheless, still using the pamphlet as a testimonial, he not only won from the Pennsylvania proprietors the money for the chair of philosophy, but likewise an informal but effective nomination to be head of the entire institution.

In 1759 Smith again returned to England for a short time and then sought to secure a doctorate of divinity from an English university. Secker, now Archbishop of Canterbury, at first opposed his application because of the objectionable paragraph in *Mirania*, and only with some difficulty did Smith gain the degree.[18]

[18] A copy of the emended pamphlet is to be found in LC; it is described in Sabin 84614. The offending quotation is reprinted in Thomas Harrison Montgomery, *A History of the University of Pennsylvania from Its Foundation to A. D. 1770* . . . (Philadelphia, G. W. Jacobs & Co., 1900), p. 193, note 16. *Ibid.*, pp. 187-198; Schneider, *eds.*, *Johnson*, I: 167, 168; II: 331; IV: 3, 4; Henry Barclay to Samuel Johnson, April 16, 1753, Hawks Papers, II, Letters of Samuel Johnson: 21, NYHS; Thomas Penn to Thomas Herring, Braywick, Sept. 23, 1753, Samuel Johnson to [Thomas Secker], Bishop of Oxford, Stratford, Oct. 25, 1754, Thomas Cant[erbury Secker] to Thomas Moore, Kensington, March 1, 1759, Lambeth Mss., 1123 I: 68, 85; 1123 II: 128 (LC transcripts); William Smith to [Benjamin Franklin and ?], [Jan.?, 1754], Peter Collinson to B[enjamin] Franklin, London, Sept. 15, 1753, P[eter] Collinson to [Benjamin] Franklin, London, Jan. 26, 1754, Franklin Papers, XLII: 43; LXIX: 62, 56, American Philosophical Society; Horace Wemyss Smith, *Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Smith* . . . (Philadelphia, Ferguson Bros. & Co., 1879), I: 21, 23, 24, 28, 29, 198-202.

Mirania's appearance in New York in April of 1753 had signalled that the Anglican clergy were ready to take the offensive against the Livingstons. Within a few weeks, a formidable team of scribblers had been assembled: Smith, Samuel Johnson, Henry Barclay, the Reverend Samuel Seabury, the rector of Hempstead, and the Reverend James Wetmore, the rector of Rye. Soon these men were penning weekly articles for Hugh Gaine's *New-York Mercury*, already identified as the Anglican sheet. Naturally, they urged adoption of the Anglican program: a college chartered by the governor as a private corporation, headed by an Anglican president and using the Anglican prayer-book in its religious observances. They argued that a college so organized would assure the greatest amount of tolerance for all sects, would provide the safest legal foundation, and would be most able to procure private gifts. A favorable audience was so quickly attracted that Smith late in May proposed a sheet to rival the *Reflector*. His advice was not adopted, but popular interest in the controversy was so great than Gaine insisted on continuance of the propaganda when the clerics thought of abandoning the field in late July.[19]

While the Anglican divines were defending their plans for the college, they were continuing their attacks on the religious opinions of their adversaries in the *Mercury* and by pamphlets. On June 4, 1753, there appeared *A Scheme for the Revival of Christianity*, the first pamphlet by these controversialists to be concerned chiefly with religious problems. The booklet was a satirical attack upon the claims of the authors of the *Reflector* that, in discussing matters of religious creed and discipline, they were attempting to revivify Christianity. Their anonymous antagonist argued that the *Reflector's* position would be best attained by an

[19] The Reverend Thomas Bradbury Chandler, the rector of Elizabeth, New Jersey, also engaged in the quarrel when the doctrine of the Church of England was in question. Schneider, *eds.*, *Johnson*, I: 165, 166, 168, 169; IV: 4, 5; *N. Y. Mercury*, April 30, June 4, July 23, 30, Sept. 3, 1753; Henry Barclay to Samuel Johnson, April 16, 1753, Hawks Papers, II, Letters of Samuel Johnson: 21, NYHS.

uneducated clergy, bereft of income or property, and shriven of any dependence upon the state. Men able to lead such a life could be "culled out of those Families, who, upon searching the Rent-Roll of Landlords, are found to pay the greatest Sums *per* Acre. . . ."[20]

Two weeks later, there was published a reprint of an English pamphlet by Francis Squire, a clergyman of the Church of England, *An Answer To some late Papers, Entitled, The Independent Whig; So far as they relate to the Church of England*. . . . This book was originally issued in 1723 and was now republished in reply to a violently anticlerical article—signed Philo-Reflector—which had appeared in the *Post-Boy* of February 19. By reissuing Squire's book, the Anglican clerics sought to defend "the externalities of religion and solemn rites of Christian worship" and "the clergy of all sorts and profession . . . against infidelity and prophaneness and an indiscriminate treatment of the clergy, especially when joined with fleers and scoffs at mysteries and rites in religion. . . ." The only addition made to the New York edition was a one-page "Advertisement," probably written by the Reverend James Wetmore, the rector of Rye. The Anglicans had long been hatching the volume—indeed, they had collected subscriptions to assure its circulation—and its appearance had been delayed only because of the length of time required by Gaine to pass it through the press.[21]

This publication was a bomb in the Livingston camp, and they began to reply in the *Reflector* on June 28. For the rest of the life of their weekly sheet, over half the essays were devoted to doctri-

[20] The quotation is from page 11. Published at New-York, Hugh Gaine, 1753. Evans 7115; Sabin 77547. There is a copy in NYHS. It was issued on June 4. *N. Y. Mercury*, June 4, 1753. I have not been able to identify the author.

[21] The quotation is from page [iii]. Published at New-York, Hugh Gaine, 1753. Evans 7124; Sabin 90011. There is a copy in NYPL. It was issued on June 19. *N. Y. Mercury*, June 18, 1753. Henry Barclay to Samuel Johnson, April 16, 1753, Hawks Papers, II, Letters of Samuel Johnson: 21, NYHS.

nal disputation, and even then the Livingstons found their space insufficient to defend properly their own principles and to castigate those of the Anglicans. So on September 1 they issued the fifth edition of *The Craftsmen*. . . . This essay was written in 1720 by Thomas Gordon, an English radical, in order to save from the censor's interdict *The Independent Whig*, a journal edited by Gordon and John Trenchard. To the New York edition, William Smith, Junior, William Livingston and John Morin Scott added a preface bitterly attacking the clergy, the New York Anglicans and Hugh Gaine.[22]

Gaine had brought upon his head the denunciation of the Livingston group not only because he had converted his *New-York Mercury* into the Anglican propaganda organ but also because he had refused to place in his newspaper any of the Livingstons' essays without first editing them. Though Parker printed the *Reflector*, he was almost as suspicious of the reformers and therefore almost as unpopular with them. For two short periods he had published in his *Post-Boy* some of the Livingstons' anticlerical articles; each time he had abruptly closed his columns on the grounds that the controversy was ruining his business. One essay, he asserted, had cost him the cancellation of twelve subscriptions, and the constant bickering had cost him over one hundred subscribers in less than two years. Since Henry DeForeest had refused to open his *New-York Evening Post* to the rivals, the Livingstons were left without any journal but the *Reflector*. They therefore insisted that the newspaper editors had destroyed the liberty of the press, for they maintained that the printers had a public duty to print in their journals, without censorship, anything which was not repugnant to the prosperity of the state.

[22] Published at New-York, J. Parker, MDCCLIII. Evans 7007; Sabin [17350]. There is a copy in LC. After its original appearance, the essay was reprinted with *The Independent Whig*. Scott's share in composing the preface to the New York edition was merely to correct the draft. This document is to be found in the Smith Papers, NYPL. For date of issue, see the *N. Y. Post-Boy*, Aug. 27, Sept. 3, 1753.

Parker and Gaine replied that they were required to earn a living and respect the law of libel.[23]

Unable to bully the newspaper publishers, the Livingstons in September, 1753, felt obliged to found a second private periodical, *The Occasional Reverberator,* which, like *The Independent Reflector,* was to be printed but not edited by Parker. The editors planned to issue the sheet for a least a year.[24] The new organ started briskly with a libel on Gaine, and the next three issues contained highly personal and vituperative replies to Anglican articles which had appeared in the *Mercury.* This fusillade aroused the Anglican politicians of the province, and notice was served on Parker that he must drop the *Reflector* and *Reverberator* or lose the public printing. The *Reverberator* was the first to go and was stopped after its fourth issue. With the *Reflector,* Parker found it more difficult to part company; alarmed by rumors of its cessation, the Livingstons pressed him to continue the periodical to June 1, 1754. At first he agreed, but after the fifty-second issue, without notice to his employers, he quit. Thus by the middle of November, 1753, it appeared that the Anglicans had silenced their opponents.[25] In the form of an epitaph for the *Reflector* the Reverend William Smith proclaimed his exultation.[26]

In the course of this wrangle between the Livingston club and the Anglican clerics, the disputants were able to agree on only two major points: the first, that New York should have a college;

[23] Despite the harsh words exchanged between the Livingstons and Gaine, early in 1753 he had printed some of their material. *N. Y. Mercury,* July 23, Sept. 3, 1753; Paul Leicester Ford, *ed., The Journals of Hugh Gaine, Printer* (New York, Dodd, Mead & Company, 1902), I: 12; *Independent Reflector, Preface,* p. 8; *Independent Reflector,* Aug. 30, 1753; [Gordon], *Craftsmen,* pp. xi, xii; *N. Y. Post-Boy,* Feb. 26, Sept. 3, 1753.

[24] Published at New-York by J. Parker. The first number was dated September 7, 1753. Evans 7081; Sabin 84576. There is a set in NYPL. An issue was a four-page folio.

[25] *Independent Reflector, Preface,* pp. 2, 3, 14, 26; *N. Y. Post-Boy,* Sept. 3, 1753, Jan. 6, 1755.

[26] [William Smith], "List of Old Papers . . . ," [1760?], Smith Papers, VI: 1, HSP. The form of publication is uncertain.

the second, that the Dutch Calvinists would determine the nature of the college. Behind the Livingstons rallied the Presbyterians and many of the Independents; behind the Anglican clerics were ranged their parishioners, superior to the Presbyterians in wealth and political power. The balance in numbers and political weight was held by the members of the Dutch Reformed Church, and their opinions would settle the dispute. This fact of political life had been recognized by both contestants as soon as the Livingstons had challenged the Anglicans' plans for the college, and both factions therefore vied for the support of the Dutch and claimed them as doctrinal brethren. Eventually, the controversy over the college was to convert long-standing feuds among the Dutch domines into open civil war, an unpleasant situation from which the Anglican faction and the Livingstons each sought to reap advantage.

Thus by November, 1753 the battle would seem to have been won by the Anglicans. The Dutch had made no objection to their leadership, and the Livingstons had been silenced. Furthermore, in October James DeLancey had been sworn in as lieutenant governor of the province, and shortly thereafter Governor Sir Danvers Osborne's suicide permitted him to rise to the post of acting governor. DeLancey's succession assured the Anglicans of a friendly provincial executive, and, since he already controlled a majority of the assemblymen, the Livingstons could have little hope of an election in which to test their bid for political power.[27]

Indeed, by the end of 1753 the college was on the verge of becoming a reality. During the preceding summer, the assembly had authorized the trustees of the provincial college fund to begin instruction immediately and had appropriated £500 a year for seven years to meet the institution's budget. In November

[27] James DeLancey to [Thomas Herring], Archbishop of Canterbury, New York, Oct. 15, 1753, William Smith to [Thomas Herring], Archbishop of Canterbury, London, Dec. 15, 1753, Dr. William Smith Mss., I: 4, 6, Archives of Protestant Episcopal Church, NYHS.

the trustees determined to exercise this power. But when the board proceeded to select the faculty, the Anglicans were outgeneralled. For William Livingston first nominated for the presidency the Anglicans' candidate, Samuel Johnson. This point granted, he proposed the Reverend Chauncey Whittelsey, a Congregationalist, as Johnson's assistant. Unable to evade so generous a compromise, the Anglican members reluctantly acceded.[28]

Johnson was the best known Anglican cleric in the region and was considered an able scholar in linguistics. His most important publication was his *Ethices Elementa* . . . , published in 1746[29] and republished with extreme revision and additions in 1752 as *Elementa Philosophica* . . . in order to serve as a text for the New York and Philadelphia colleges in the subjects of psychology and ethics. The second edition had been brought out by Benjamin Franklin and David Hall of Philadelphia, apparently in good measure as a public service. For Franklin from the first doubted if college boys could surmount the book, and eventually he lost £25 on the venture. Whittelsey in 1754 was a New Haven merchant and a deputy to the Connecticut assembly, but he had served acceptably as a tutor at Yale College from 1739 to 1745. Theologically, he was an Old Light and hence was as near to an acceptance of Anglican doctrine as a Congregationalist could be.[30]

[28] *Colonial Laws of New York*, III: 908-910; Schneider, *eds., Johnson*, IV: 7, 8, 19.

[29] Aristocles *(pseud.)*, *Ethices Elementa. Or the First Principles of Moral Philosophy. And Especially That Part of it which is called Ethics. In a Chain of necessary Consequences from certain Facts* (Boston, Rogers and Fowle, MDCCXLVI). Evans 5794; Sabin 36294. There is a copy in LC. Apparently this book was the first edition of this work. Sabin in a note to his 36293 asserted that an earlier edition was issued at New Haven in 1744, but I have been unable to find any evidence of such a book. Evans (6172) listed a 1748 reprint, issued by Rogers and Fowle at Boston. He did not locate a copy, and I could find none. Since we know that the 1752 edition sold very poorly, so rapid a sale of the 1746 issue would be surprising.

[30] [Samuel Johnson], *Elementa Philosophica: Containing chiefly, Noetica, Or Things relating to the Mind or Understanding: and Ethica, Or Things relating to the Moral Behaviour* (Philadelphia, B. Franklin, and D. Hall, 1752). Evans 6859; Sabin 36291. There is a copy in NYHS. It was published October 19, 1752. The dedication on page [v] of *Noetica* is signed by Samuel Johnson. Five hundred copies were printed, and two years later only fifty had been sold in Philadelphia.

The appointment of this faculty of two therefore was a compromise in which the Anglicans were given their essential point: the control of the presidency. To maintain this truce, the Anglican politicians, who by November had taken over the leadership of the fight, sternly imposed a ban of silence on their rectors. When the Reverend James Wetmore proposed the publication of a defense of the Anglican establishment, the laity vetoed the plan.[31]

The book was divided into two sections, *Noetica* and *Ethica*, thus putting the latter through a second edition. Each section had its own title-page and pagination, but there was only one list of errata for both works. Sabin stated that they were sold separately and assigned individual numbers, [36292] and 36293. The Library of Congress possesses such a divided set. It lacks the general title-page, but contains the errata clipped from the original leaf and pasted on to page [97] of the *Noetica* and page [105] of the *Ethica*. However, these volumes obviously were bound in the nineteenth century, and their present state does not prove that the publisher sold the books separately. Furthermore, the announcements of publication by Franklin and Hall and by Parker quoted a price only for the entire work, bound or unbound—"in blue Covers."

Evans (6860) entered a New York printing by James Parker in 1752. It is true that Parker advertised the book in his *Post-Boy*, but his notice is an almost exact replica of that carried in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*—Parker only added the name of the author. Furthermore, we know that Franklin sent some of his edition to other cities for sale, and the sequence of dates of the newspaper advertisements makes it apparent that Parker was only attempting to sell the output of his patron's press. Nor does the correspondence between Franklin and Johnson allude to a New York printing. Evans must have been misled by the announcement in the *Post-Boy*, and his entry therefore probably refers to a non-existent book.

There was also a London edition, rather extensively revised by the Reverend William Smith: Samuel Johnson, *The Elements of Philosophy: containing, I. The most useful Parts of Logic, including both Metaphysics and Dialectic, or the Art of Reasoning: with a brief Account of the Progress of the Mind towards its highest Perfection. To which is prefixed, A short Introduction to the Study of the Sciences. II. A brief View both of the specu-lative and prac-tical Part of Moral Philosophy, as im-proved by Christia-nity. To which is added, An Original Letter concerning the Set-tlement of Bishops in America* (The Third Edition, London, A. Millar, MDCCLIV). Not listed by Sabin. There is a copy in Princeton University Library (PUL). "The Editor's Preface" is signed on page xv by Will. Smith. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Oct. 19, 1752; *N. Y. Post-Boy*, Nov. 6, 1752; Gegenheimer, *Smith*, pp. 40, 41; Franklin Bowditch Dexter, *ed.*, *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles* . . . (New York, C. Scribner's Sons, 1901), I: 205, 206; statement of accounts between Benjamin Franklin and David Hall, Jan. 26, 1748–Feb. 1, 1766 (photostat), NYHS; Dexter, *Yale Biographies*, I: 613-615; William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit* . . . (New York, R. Carter and Brothers, 1857-1869), I: 416; Schneider, *eds.*, *Johnson*, I: 183; II: 327-335.

[31] *Ibid.*, IV: 6.

But all participants failed to reckon on Samuel Johnson. He disliked Whittelsey and vetoed him as his assistant. Furthermore, he objected to the lack of permanent organization of the college and the insecurity of its financing. As a result, it was agreed among the Anglicans to seek from Lieutenant Governor DeLancey a charter which would place the control of the college in a private corporation and which would require the use of the Anglican prayer-book in all college religious services. To make sure of Anglican preëminence, the vestry of Trinity parish promised the gift of a valuable block of land for a college site if the charter required an Anglican as president and the use of the Anglican prayer-book.[32]

The proposed charter was drafted by two prominent New York lawyers, John Chambers and Benjamin Nicoll, and in good measure was based on the 1748 charter of the College of New Jersey. However, clauses were inserted to assure an Anglican president and the use of the Anglican liturgy for college prayers. The trustees of the college fund voted to petition DeLancey to create a corporation on the terms of the draft, and to this decision only William Livingston dissented.[33]

The objection to the appointment of Whittelsey and the plans for the charter were accepted by the Livingstons as a breach of the tacit neutrality. Therefore, in January, 1754, William Smith, Junior, wrote *The Preface* to *The Independent Reflector*. This thirty-one page pamphlet traced the history of the dispute and recapit-

[32] *Ibid.*, I: 173, 174; IV: 5, 6, 8, 9, 19; Morgan Dix, *ed.*, *A History of the Parish of Trinity Church in the City of New York* (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1898-1906), I: 271.

[33] Early in January, 1754, John Chambers had procured a copy of the New Jersey charter. Comparison of that document with the draft charter for the College of New York reveals repeated similarities of language. Thomas Bartow to John Chambers, Perth Amboy, Jan. 10, 1754, Thomas Bartow, "Copy of New Jersey College Charter," [Jan., 1754], draft charter of the College of New York, [May, 1754], College Papers, CUL; *Journal of the Votes . . . of the General Assembly . . . of New York . . . 1691 . . . 1765* (New York, Hugh Gaine, M,DCC,LXIV and M,DCC,LXVI), II: 397-402, Nov. 1, 1754. Evans 9756 and 10418; Sabin [53719]. There is a copy in NYHS.

ulated the points at issue. Once written, neither Gaine nor Parker would consent to publish it, and it was necessary to haul Henry DeForeest from virtual retirement to do the printing. Not until February 29, 1754, was it offered for sale.[34]

Since this tirade did not stay the Anglicans, the Livingstons decided to carry their agitation systematically throughout the province. The immediate purpose of the campaign was to induce the voters to bring pressure upon their assemblymen so that the representatives would insist upon a non-denominational college, chartered and controlled by the legislature. The more important objective of the Livingstons was to create organizations within each county which might sponsor candidates in an election to be expected upon the arrival of a new governor. To enlighten their propagandists about the background of the issue, there were available the *Reflector* and its *Preface,* and, to crystallize the opposition to the proposed charter, William Livingston printed one hundred

[34] *The Independent Reflector: or, Weekly Essays on Sundry Important Subjects* (New-York, [Henry DeForeest], MDCCLIII [1754]). Evans 7041; Sabin 34452. A copy is in LC. The title-page obviously was intended to serve for the entire collection of essays. On page 1 there is a subtitle: *The Preface.* Certainly the printer of the title-page and preface was DeForeest: the type seems to have been his and he was still printing in July, 1754. *N. Y. Post-Boy,* July 29, 1754. And he was truly, as the Reflector commented in the *Advertisement* preceding the title-page, "the most inartificial of the Occupation. . . ." On the other hand, Parker and Gaine were refusing to work for the Livingstons. I believe the preface was written by William Smith, Junior, by virtue of the author's reference to a history of New York he was then preparing. However, Richardson and Evans credited the piece to William Livingston. *Independent Reflector, Preface,* p. 31; Lyon N. Richardson, *History of Early American Magazines 1741-1789* (New York, T. Nelson and Sons, 1941), p. 81.

Though a number of bound volumes, complete with preface, are extant, there is no reason to believe that the periodical was ever so sold. Nor is there any evidence that Sedgwick was correct in stating that the weekly issues were reprinted early in 1754. Theodore Sedgwick, Jr., *A Memoir of the Life of William Livingston . . .* (New York, J. & J. Harper, 1833), p. 89.

Date of publication of the preface is fixed by a broadside bound in the NYPL copy of the *Reflector: New-York, February 29, 1754. Advertisement. Just Published, And to be sold by Robert McAlpine, Bookbinder, in Hanover-Square, in New-York, Price, Two Shillings; A Preface to the Independent Reflector . . .* ([New York, Henry DeForeest, 1754]). This imprint is not listed by Evans or Sabin, but it has been reprinted in Stokes, *comp., Iconography,* IV: 647, Feb. 29, 1754.

and fifty copies of a pamphlet containing the petition of the trustees to the governor for incorporation and his protest against their action. In substance, the dissent by Livingston denied the legal power of the trustees to request incorporation and challenged the policy of granting preferment in the college to the Church of England. The pamphlet was distributed throughout the province, either by friends or by the members of the club while riding the judicial circuit.[35]

So much popular comment was caused by the Livingstons' agitation that DeLancey became reluctant to sign the charter. In an effort to force the issue, the Anglicans resolved to begin instruction in the college, and therefore in July, 1754, there were held the first classes.[36] The Livingstons naturally were elated by their success in cowing the provincial boss. To broaden their appeal, they began publication on August 12 of their third weekly, *The Plebeian.* The theme of this sheet was that it was the chief duty of the poor—the plebeians—by their "voices, wishes and indeavors" to secure the management of public affairs to the proper members of the patrician class. And the delineation of the worthy and unworthy patricians revealed that members of the DeLancey party were quite unworthy, whereas the Livingstons seemed very worthy indeed.[37]

[35] [William Smith, Jr.], "Dt. Acco. of the College," Smith Papers, NYPL; *The Petition of the Trustees of the College of New-York, to his Honour the Lieutenant Governor, praying to be incorporated; and that the Liturgy of the Church of England may be established in the said College: With Reasons offered by one of the Trustees, for protesting against the Charter therein prayed for* ([New York, Hugh Gaine, 1754]). The "Reasons" are on pages 2-4 and are signed W[illiam] Livingston. Not listed by Evans or Sabin. There is a copy in Yale University Library (YUL). Apparently the pamphlet was published between May 20 and May 29, 1754. No copies seem to have been sold.

[36] *N. Y. Mercury,* June 3, 1754; Schneider, *eds., Johnson,* IV: 16.

[37] This paper was first issued on August 12, 1754 and continued as late as September 11, 1754. Unfortunately, only one copy of one issue is known, that of September 11, preserved in the New York Society Library. The periodical consisted of only one leaf, printed on both sides, and was ostensibly written by Noah Meanwell. It was probably published by Hugh Gaine, though there is no imprint. Evans 7297; not listed by Sabin. I may be incorrect in attributing the journal to the Livingstons, but the argument sounds much like other material unquestionably written by them.

When the assembly met in October, 1754, the representatives called for a report from the trustees of the college fund. In response, two reports were filed. That by the majority stated the Anglican position: it did little more than review the financial transactions of the board. The other was a minority report by William Livingston: Livingston reviewed the proceedings of the trustees and attacked their effort to gain a charter from the college. Robert Livingston, Junior, the lord of the Manor of Livingston and therefore head of the family, moved that both reports be entered on the assembly's journal and therefore be printed. The followers of DeLancey fought the motion; when the proposal carried on a division, it was clear that the college issue was threatening the political life of the provincial boss.[38]

Angered by the success of his opponents, DeLancey assumed the offensive. On November 2 he finally signed the charter to incorporate the college as King's College; though the trustees' draft had been extensively revised, the basic framework of the New Jersey charter and safeguards for Anglican control remained. The charter, however, was not delivered to the trustees of the new corporation and the college therefore remained beneath the control of the trustees of the provincial college fund. DeLancey now proposed that the assembly pass bills to confirm his charter and to grant the provincial financial support to King's. But Robert Livingston, Junior, promptly introduced a bill to incorporate another college, one which would be non-sectarian and be controlled by the legislature.[39] While the house was debating Livingston's bill, there were published on the same day the gov-

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Compare the *Plebeian* with the *Independent Reflector*, Feb. 22, July 5, 1753; *Independent Reflector, Preface*, p. 27; *N. Y. Mercury*, Feb. 16, 1761.

[38] *N. Y. Assembly Journal*, II: 392, 395-402, Oct. 25, Nov. 1, 1754; Schneider, *eds., Johnson*, IV: 24, 25.

[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 24-28, 34; *N. Y. Assembly Journal*, II: 404, Nov. 6, 7, 1754; Sedgwick, *Livingston*, pp. 104, 105; [Benjamin Nicoll], "Draft of Petition to the Assembly," [Oct., 1754?], "An act for vesting in the Governors of College of the Province of New York . . . the Monies Raised . . . ," [Nov., 1754?], College Papers, CUL.

ernor's charter for the college[40] and the report of the trustees of the college funds on their proceedings.[41] By this time, so much bitterness had been created that the Long Island representatives began to fear the wrath of their constituents, nearly all of whom were dissenters. Though the Long Islanders were usually responsive to DeLancey's orders, they now refused to have anything to do with the college issue. As a result, the assembly found itself unable to pass any of the bills. Consideration was therefore postponed to the next session and Livingston's bill was ordered printed to guide the representatives' judgment.[42]

As the session of the assembly drew to an end, the Livingstons reopened their intensive publicity in order "to keep the province

[40] *The Charter of the College of New-York, in America* (New-York, J. Parker and W. Weyman, MDCCLIV). Evans 7279; Sabin 14818. Published by order of the provincial council on November 18, 1754. *N. Y. Post-Boy*, Nov. 18, 1754; Berthold Fernow, *ed.*, *Calendar of the Council Minutes, 1668-1783*, New York State Library, *Bulletin 58, History 6* (Albany, University of the State of New York, 1902), p. 397, Nov. 14, 1754. There were at least three printings of the charter, all bearing the imprint of Parker and Weyman of New York and all dated 1754. Examples of two of the printings are in NYHS and a copy of the third is held by CUL and is reproduced as the first document in Columbia University: *Early Minutes of the Trustees* (New York, [Columbia University], 1932), I. Of the two held by NYHS, one has a large replica of the royal arms (5.3 cm. in height) on the title-page and is closed on page 13 by an illustration of a two-handled basket containing flowers. The second bears a smaller reproduction of the royal arms (3.6 cm.) and is concluded on page 13 by a representation of a bird squatting on a cornucopia. These two devices in the Columbia variant are identical with those in the second NYHS printing, but the two pamphlets show numerous differences in typographical composition, particularly in the marginalia. Thus the second NYHS example bears in the margin of page 5 the words "And appointed," whereas the CUL version has no marginalia on page 5.

[41] On November 18, Parker and Weyman advertised for sale "the three Sheets of the Votes of the General Assembly wherein is contained the Reports of the Trustees appointed to receive the Monies raised for a College in this Colony." *N. Y. Post-Boy*, Nov. 18, 1754. Evans 7277; not listed by Sabin. I have failed to locate a copy. It is not clear by what authority the printers undertook to publish a section of the journal of the house before the session had been completed. As was true of the other legislative proceedings affecting the college, reports also appeared in the proper sessional journal and in the collected journals published by Hugh Gaine in 1766.

[42] William Smith [Junior], *The History of the Late Province of New-York, from Its Discovery, to the Appointment of Governor Colden, in 1762* (New York, New-York Historical Society, 1829), II: 200; *N. Y. Assembly Journal*, II: 412, 413, Nov. 26, 1754, and 413-419 note.

warm in so momentous an affair." Their offensive was opened on November 25, 1754, with the institution of a second series of weekly articles. The party penmen had decided upon a new periodical as early as August 22, 1754, and were then deterred from publication only by the refusal of both Gaine and Parker to print their material. Plans had then been made for the establishment of a third press in New York City. When this news reached Gaine's ears, he apparently found it extremely unpalatable; accordingly, on November 18 he announced in the *Mercury* his intention of reopening his columns to any essayist who would pay for the space. But Parker held the *Post-Boy* to his policy of non-intervention, and therefore in 1755 the newspaper controversy was carried on entirely in Gaine's paper, a circumstance which often obliged the publisher to print a supplement to contain the weekly news.[43]

In accordance with Gaine's announcement, the Livingstons contracted with him for the use of a page of his *Mercury*, usually the first one, of every issue for a year. This page they christened "The Watch-Tower"—a watch-tower, perhaps, against the threat of religious persecution. Though the original plan had called for consideration of a number of political issues, nearly all these essays dealt with the college or the evils of the Church of England. In substance, the argument was developed that the Anglicans were an intolerant minority seeking to gain exclusive domination of the province's religious and intellectual life. To illustrate the bigotry of the Church of England, for weeks the "Watch-Tower" carried a history of persecution by "High Churchmen" in the colony of New York,[44] and in the spring of

[43] However, Parker was willing to print pamphlets. Sedgwick, *Livingston*, pp. 104, 105; *N. Y. Post-Boy*, June 3, 1754, Jan. 6, Sept. 15, 1755; *N. Y. Mercury*, Nov. 18, 1754; Schneider, *eds., Johnson*, IV: 21, 22.

[44] *Ibid.*, pp. 150, 151; Sedgwick, *Livingston*, pp. 104, 105, 110 note. Hildeburn states that the "Watch-Tower" was also issued in separate form. No one else seems to have located any separates except Number 53. Stokes, *comp., Iconography*, IV: 661, Nov. 25, 1754. Sedgwick (*Livingston*, p. 110) believed that the essays were republished in book-form. I have found no other reference to such a publication.

1755 an account of a long forgotten persecution of a Presbyterian preacher was reprinted.[45]

Throughout the summer and fall of 1754 the Anglicans had adamantly refused to reopen the paper warfare, but, when the "Watch-Tower" appeared, they immediately accepted the challenge. They soon organized an editorial board of four clerics—Samuel Auchmuty, Thomas Bradbury Chandler, James Wetmore, and the Reverend William Smith; and two able lawyers—Benjamin Nicoll and John Chambers. These men replied to the "Watch-Tower" with occasional essays in the *Mercury* which were at first the usual anonymous letters to the editor, but which on January 27 became a series of comments by "John Englishman." This pseudonym evidently pleased the parsons, for on April 9 they founded the independent sheet, *John Englishman*, a paper which appeared at intervals of one or two weeks until July 5.[46] Many of the "John Englishman" and "Watch-Tower" essays were more concerned with religious than educational problems, and in good measure the two series only again traversed ground well plowed in the days of the *Reflector*.

The two factions soon were also issuing pamphlets against each other. On December 2, 1754, there appeared *The Querist*..., an anonymous attack by William Livingston on the college charter. Though the pamphlet contained the able dissent of May 30,

[45] [Francis Makemie], *A Narrative of a New and Unusual American Imprisonment of Two Presbyterian Ministers* . . . (New-York, H. Gaine, 1755). Evans 7455; Sabin 44080. There is a copy in NYPL. Published on May 21, 1755. Proposals of printing by subscription were first made two months earlier. *N. Y. Mercury*, March 17, May 21, 1755. The first edition was printed at Boston in 1707. Evans 1300; Sabin 44079.

[46] Schneider, *eds.*, *Johnson*, IV: 15-18, 33; E. Edwards Beardsley, *Life and Correspondence of Samuel Johnson, D. D.* (New York, Hurd and Houghton, 1874), p. 194; *N. Y. Mercury*, Jan. 27, 1755. *John Englishman's true Notion of Sister-Churches*, [April 9, 1755]. Evans 7440; not listed by Sabin. Thereafter *John Englishman In Defence of the English Constitution*, April 18–July 5, 1755. Evans 7439; not listed by Sabin. A set is in NYPL. All were published at New-York by J. Parker and W. Weyman, though variant imprints were used in several issues. For date of first appearance, see *N. Y. Post-Boy*, April 7, 1755. Contrary to Evans, all issues were folios.

1754, by James Alexander and William Smith, Senior, to the provincial council's approval of the incorporation of the college, most of the text consisted of Livingston's forty-eight queries challenging specific sections of the charter.[47] Two weeks later, the Livingstons again scored when the public printer issued their college bill in accordance with the resolution passed by the assembly in November.[48]

The Anglicans replied on December 30 with the appearance of Benjamin Nicoll's anonymous *A Brief Vindication of the Proceedings of the Trustees*.[49] It had originally been planned that Nicoll should write two pamphlets, one in defense of the charter and a second in defense of the trustees, but for some reason the two were merged into one. In preparing the *Vindication*, Nicoll was aided by John Chambers, whose corrections were consistently much more abusive of the Livingstons than the original text had been. The pamphlet argued that the Livingstons' attack upon the Anglicans for intolerance was actually a plea for irreligious free-thinking, and that the trustees' proceedings had constituted the only realistic method by which the school might be successfully maintained as a public institution. Of all the Anglican publications, this leaflet nettled the Livingstons the most. A few days after its appearance, it was reported that William Livingston

[47] The pamphlet was dated November 20, 1754. F. [William Livingston], *The Querist; or, a Letter to a Member of the General Assembly of the Colony of New-York. Containing a Variety of Important Questions Occasioned by The Charter Lately granted for the Establishment of a College* ([New York, Hugh Gaine], M,DCC,LIV). Evans 7228; Sabin 67115. There is a copy in NYHS. For date of publication, see *N. Y. Mercury*, Dec. 2, 1754.

[48] [John Morin Scott], *A Bill, entitled, An Act further to establish and incorporate a College within this Colony, for the Education and Instruction of Youth in the Liberal Arts and Sciences* (New-York, J. Parker, MDCCLIV). Not listed by Evans or Sabin. There is a copy in YUL. For date of publication, see *N. Y. Post-Boy*, Dec. 16, 1754. For ascription of authorship to Scott, see Smith, *History of New York*, II: 200 note.

[49] Published at New-York, H. Gaine, 1754. Evans 7282; Sabin 7918. There is a copy in NYPL. Still a third man made minor corrections in the manuscript of the pamphlet, but I cannot identify him. The rough draft is preserved in the College Papers, Columbia University Library; it contains unpublished material of value. For date of publication, see *N. Y. Mercury*, Dec. 30, 1754.

"raves about like a Madman, & . . . says that one Town can't hold him & ye Author of that Piece." Livingston had good cause for anger, for Nicoll had accused him of falsifying the minutes of the provincial college trustees.[50]

There is only too good reason to believe that much that was written by the quarrelling Anglicans and Presbyterians was not said in complete candor. Certainly this opinion was held by Archibald Kennedy, the royal receiver-general, who published anonymously in February, 1755, a thick pamphlet in an effort to restore the dispute to a common-sense basis. In substance, he argued that preferment of the Church of England within the collegiate organization was legally inevitable and would be advantageous to its graduates.[51]

Kennedy's advice was ignored, for by this time both factions were so angry that each was ready to contest the control of any organization. Therefore the battle spread to the selection of trustees of the New-York Society Library. This institution had been organized in 1754 as a private circulating library by Philip Livingston, Robert R. Livingston, William Livingston, William Alexander, John Morin Scott and William Smith, Junior. Because of their leadership, the Livingston group gained most of the places as trustees, though only over the bitter opposition of Chambers. When time approached for the elections in April, 1755, both sides were ready for battle. The Livingstons were

[50] Schneider, *eds.*, *Johnson*, IV: 28, 30, 33; [Nicoll], *Brief Vindication*, p. 11; William Johnson to W. S. Johnson, New York, Jan. 3, 1755, Johnson Papers, II, CHS.

[51] [Archibald Kennedy], *A Speech Said to have been Delivered Some Time Before the Close of the Last Sessions, By A Member Dissenting from The Church* ([New York, Hugh Gaine], 1755). Evans 7573; Sabin 89193. The ascription of authorship is based on a manuscript notation by William Smith, Junior, on the copy in John Carter Brown Library. The book came from Smith's library. See also Lawrence C. Wroth, *An American Bookshelf 1755* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press; London, Humphrey Milford Oxford University Press, 1934), pp. 118-126. The pamphlet was published on February 17, 1755, but prior to publication it had been handed about privately. The "Watch-Tower" replied on February 17, 1755. *N. Y. Mercury*, Feb. 17, 1755, and supplement.

keener and hence better organized, and they won the day.[52]

Up to October, 1754, the Dutch Calvinists had taken little part in the controversy. Though there appeared in the newspapers essays purporting to be written by Dutchmen, they actually seem to have originated with the Livingston party or the Anglican rectors. Probably the only contribution to the paper warfare by a man of Dutch descent had been a pamphlet, *A Letter to the Independent Reflector,* published in 1753 under the pseudonym of David Marin Ben Jesse. The author almost certainly was Theodore Frelinghuysen, the domine of the Albany church and member of a family accustomed to speak on almost any occasion. In this publication, Frelinghuysen had nothing to say about the college, but confined his efforts to rebuking the *Reflector* for irreligious anticlerical opinions.[53]

[52] *Whereas a Publick Library would be very useful; as well as ornamental to this City, and may be also advantageous to our intended College; We, whose Names are hereunto subscribed, in order to promote the Design of erecting One in this City, do promise to pay Five Pounds New York Currency each. . . . City of New-York, April 2d, 1754* ([New York, Hugh Gaine, 1754]); *A List of the Subscribers to the New-York Library* ([New York, Hugh Gaine, 1755]). Both are broadsides. Neither is listed by Evans or Sabin. Copies may be found in William Smith, Junior, Diary, II: 359-360, insert, Smith Papers, NYPL. *Ibid.,* 359, note, 384, [1754], April 29, 1755; Austin Baxter Keep, *History of the New York Society Library . . .* ([New York], DeVinne Press, 1908), pp. 136, 146, 159-161; *N. Y. Mercury,* April 21, May 5, 12, 1755; *N. Y. Post-Boy,* May 12, 1755.

[53] David Marin Ben Jesse [Theodore Frelinghuysen], *A Letter to the Independent Reflector* (New-York, Hugh Gaine, 1753). Evans 7043; Sabin [44576]. There is a copy in HEHL. The pamphlet is dated by the author April 5, 1753; date of publication is unknown. Two other pamphlets dealing with the college controversy were published in 1755 under the pseudonym of David Marin Ben Jesse, pastor of Aquenonka: *A Remark on the Disputes and Contentions in This Province; A Remonstrance.* This author in the past has been identified as David Marinus, pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church at Aquackononck (Passaic), New Jersey. If these writings were indeed his, they represent the sum total of his literary product: I have been unable to find even a letter indisputably written by Marinus. Nor would his career suggest that he was the type of man to undertake leadership in an important controversy. I can find but two pieces of definite evidence in support of this claim. The first is the similarity of the names of the places where Marin Ben Jesse was supposed to preach and where Marinus did serve. The other is a reference to volume V, Miscellaneous Pamphlets, New Jersey Historical Society. Joseph P. Bradley, "Historical Discourse," *The Centennial Celebration of Rutgers College . . .* (Albany, J. Munsell, 1870), pp. 73, 75; Edward Tanjore Corwin, *A Manual of the Reformed Church in America . . .* (4th edition, New York, Reformed Church in America,

But in the fall of 1754 a long smouldering disagreement among the Dutch churches flared into an open feud. To a great extent, the difference revolved about the organization of the Dutch Reformed Church in America. These congregations had always been controlled by the classis—the governing body—of Amsterdam, and, while there was an assembly of the ministers in America—the coetus—it had little more than advisory powers. The classis examined and licensed in Amsterdam all domines who wished to preach in New York, and this regulation was apt to mean that the ministers had at least some training in Holland.

From this system of absentee regulation and ordination, Theodore Frelinghuysen revolted in September, 1754. He proposed that there be set up an independent classis in America, a method of government which would entail American ordination and licensing. Necessarily, in order to train candidates, some form of educational institution would be required. Since Frelinghuysen's adherents were then in the majority in the coetus and therefore

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1902), pp. 602, 603. Perhaps this volume contained unique information, though I doubt it; but, since the book has long since disappeared, we shall never know. On the other hand, the Reverend William Smith and Henry Barclay both identified Theodore Frelinghuysen of Albany as the author of *A Letter to the Independent Reflector* and *A Remonstrance*. Hen[ry] Barclay to [William] Smith, New York, Feb. 12, 1755, Henry Barclay to William Smith, [March?, 1755], [William Smith to James Parker], the publisher of the *N. Y. Gazette*, [Feb., 1755], (draft), Hawks Papers, VI, Letters of Doctor William Smith: 1, 2, 49, NYHS. Furthermore, on the Huntington Library copy of *A Remonstrance*, originally the property of William Smith, Junior, an inscription unquestionably in Smith's hand attributes the pamphlet to Frelinghuysen. On the title-page, Smith added correct details—unfortunately partly trimmed away—concerning the cause of publication. The pamphlets contain ideas and literary mannerisms highly similar to undoubted products of Frelinghuysen's pen or reports of his conversation. Compare the three booklets with Hugh Hastings, *ed.*, *Ecclesiastical Records, State of New York* (Albany, James B. Lyon, 1901-1916), V: 3532-3534, 3582-3585, 3605-3607, 3648, 3649; Theodorus Frielinghuysen, *A Sermon. Preached on Occasion of the late Treaty Held in Albany . . .* (New-York, J. Parker and W. Weyman, MDCCLIV). Evans 7199; not listed by Sabin. There is a copy in NYPL. Our knowledge of the biographies of many of the Dutch domines is so incomplete that no light is afforded by the autobiographical references in the pamphlets. *A Letter to the Independent Reflector*, p. 5; *A Remonstrance*, pp. 1, 2. In preparing this note, I have been greatly aided by information furnished by Miss Norma Cuthbert and Mr. Willard O. Waters of the Henry E. Huntington Library and by Dr. Lawrence C. Wroth of the John Carter Brown Library.

presumably would dominate the contemplated American classis, they would be able to control the education and selection of all future domines. The members of the Frelinghuysen family had always insisted upon evangelism and had been counted among the New Lights, whereas native Dutchmen, trained in orthodox Calvinism and pulpit manners, represented essentially the Old Lights. Therefore, approval of Frelinghuysen's plans would mean that New Light, American-trained, English-preaching ministers soon would dominate the church.

Under the direction of Philip Livingston, the New York church rejected Frelinghuysen's program and proposed that the Dutch petition the New York assembly to provide for a professor of Dutch Calvinistic theology in the provincial college. The Albany domine promptly mobilized his forces and by May, 1755, about half the Dutch churches had agreed to form an American classis and organize their own college. Adoption of this program of course committed this faction to opposition to an Anglican-controlled provincial college and hence to the Church of England.[54]

[54] Hastings, *ed., Ecclesiastical Records of New York,* V: 3495, 3496, 3499, 3500, 3546-3554, 3563, 3564, 3608-3610, 3669-3671; Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, *The Founding of American Civilization* . . . (New York and London, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1938), pp. 95-113. This feud within the Dutch church continued for decades. The earlier stages of the controversy were discussed in a series of four pamphlets which were in effect official statements of the attitudes of the contending factions. The case for the Frelinghuysenites was stated by John Leydt; that of their opponents by John Ritzema. Johannes Leydt, [Greek phrase] *Ware Vryheyt tot Vrede ofte Berigt* . . . (Philadelphia, Hendrik Miller, 1760). Evans 8639; not listed by Sabin. There is a copy in HSP. A translated version appears in Hastings, *ed., Ecclesiastical Records of New York,* V: 3762-3792. This pamphlet apparently was also published at Amsterdam. *Ibid.,* VI: 3811. [John Ritzema], *Ware Vryheyt tot Vrede Beantwoort Ofte Kortbondige Wederleggig Van het boekje van Do. Johannes Leydt. Waar in klaarlyk word aangewezen dat Vrede Zonder Waarheyt. Niet mag gezogt worden. Zynde die Vergadering waar voor zyn E. opkomt nog Coetus, Nog geauthorizeert, Om te Examineren nog Promoveren. Door hiefhebbers wan Waarheid en vrede* (Niew-York, H. Gaine, MDCCLXI). Not listed by Evans or Sabin. There is a copy in NYHS. Johannes Leydt, *Ware Vryheyt tot Vrede, Verdedigd Tegen de zo genoemde Kortbondige Wederlegginge der voorgevende Liefhebbers van Waarheyt en Vrede* . . . (Philadelphia, Hendrik Miller, MDCCLXII). Evans 9158; not listed by Sabin. There is an imperfect copy in HSP. [John Ritzema], *Aan den Eerwaarden Do. Johannes Leydt, Predikant in N. Brunswyk, &c.* (Phila-

The first blast of Frelinghuysen against the Anglicans had come in February, 1755, with the appearance of the pamphlet, *A Remonstrance*.[55] This publication was an attack upon the use of two words in a sermon preached by the Reverend William Smith at the funeral of a student of the Academy of Philadelphia. The minister had cited to the other pupils the lad's sudden death as evidence of the necessity of "unsullied Innocence and Purity of Manners" and had urged that by such conduct they would merit the love of Christ.[56] Frelinghuysen denied that one could ever "merit" the love of Christ or that man ever could possess "unsullied" innocence. Use of such terms, he argued, proved the Church of England culpable for harboring so foul an Arminian and a latitudinarian as Smith. With such people, the Dutch church must have no traffic: "There is no Smith in Israel." When the Reverend Henry Barclay read this excoriation, he hastened to Smith a plea that he retract. The belabored preacher replied that he had noticed his lack of wisdom in use of the word "merit" and had changed the word to "obtain" with pen and ink. Unfortunately, about one hundred and fifty copies of the sermon had been sold before the change was made. And Smith was still

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delphia, Hendrik Miller, MDCCLXIII). Evans 9504; Sabin [71602]. There is a copy in HSP. On page 38, the pamphlet is signed "Joannes Ritzema," under the date of December 22, 1762. The last three publications contain important information; unfortunately, they have never been used by historians. Because I could not locate perfect copies of Leydt's works, my description depends on Evans.

[55] David Marin Ben Jesse [Theodore Frelinghuysen], *A Remonstrance* ([New York, Hugh Gaine], MDCCLV). Evans 7457; not listed by Sabin. There is a copy in HEHL. For attribution of authorship, see note 53. The author dated the pamphlet November 4, 1754, but apparently it was not published until about February 12, 1755. *N. Y. Mercury*, Feb. 17, 1755; Henry Barclay to [William] Smith, New York, Feb. 12, 1755, Hawks Papers, VI, Letters of Doctor William Smith: 1, NYHS.

[56] W[illiam] Smith, *Personal Affliction and frequent Reflection upon human Life, of great Use to lead Man to the Remembrance of God. A Sermon, Preach'd on Sunday Sept. 1, 1754, in Christ-Church, Philadelphia; Occasioned by the Death of a beloved Pupil, Who departed this Life, August 28, 1754, in the 16th Year of his Age* (Philadelphia, B. Franklin, and D. Hall, 1754), pp. iii, 16. Evans 7318; Sabin 84641. There is a copy in LC. Date of publication was September 19, 1754. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Sept. 19, 1754. Montgomery, *University of Pennsylvania*, p. 207.

unable to explain his avowal of the concept of unsullied innocence.[57]

Frelinghuysen therefore continued his attack upon Smith by preaching against him. In the columns of the *Mercury*, the Anglicans then denounced the Albany domine as a misguided troublemaker whose plans ultimately would only increase the membership and prestige of the Presbyterians.[58] This essay provoked a third pamphlet by Frelinghuysen. He insisted that, by seeking to seize the college, the Anglicans were attempting to dominate state and church in New York and to absorb slowly the members of the Dutch Reformed Church. To prevent the dissolution of their own congregations, the Dutch should strengthen themselves by organizing an American classis, founding their own college, and conducting their services in English. To check Anglican aggrandizement, they should ally themselves with the Presbyterians, and the members of the two sects back the Livingston candidates when assemblymen were elected.[59]

Thus, by the spring of 1755, the Frelinghuysen wing of the Dutch Reformed Church was firmly committed to opposition to King's College. However, this faction did not represent the wealthier and larger New York congregations. If the Anglicans could hold the firm and vigorous support of the Dutch opposed to Frelinghuysen, they might yet win financial support from the province for King's. The bait which would assure the support of

[57] Henry Barclay to [William] Smith, New York, Feb. 12, 1755, [William Smith] to the publisher of *N. Y. Gazette*, [March, 1755], (cancelled draft), [William Smith] to Henry Barclay, March 24, 1755 (draft—"to be reconsidered"), Henry Barclay to William Smith, [New York, April, 1755], David Hall to Henry Barclay, [March, 1755], Hawks Papers, VI, Letters of Doctor William Smith: 1, 2, 49, NYHS.

[58] Henry Barclay to William Smith, [New York, April, 1755], Hawks Papers, VI, Letters of Doctor William Smith: 2, NYHS; *N. Y. Mercury*, April 14, 1755, supplement.

[59] David Marin Ben Jesse [Theodore Frelinghuysen], *A Remark on the Disputes and Contentions in This Province* (New York, H. Gaine, 1755). Evans 7456; Sabin 44577. There is a copy in HEHL. For ascription of authorship, see note 53. Published on June 9, 1755. *N. Y. Mercury*, June 9, 1755. See also the article by John Leydt, *N. Y. Mercury*, June 16, 1755.

the anti-Frelinghuysenites would be the establishment of the chair of Dutch theology, and the Anglicans repeatedly promised to grant this privilege as soon as the college corporation was functioning. The charter was finally delivered to the college governors on May 7, 1755, and the corporation was thereby organized. The first act of the new board was to petition the lieutenant governor for an additional charter empowering the Dutch Reformed Church of New York City to appoint a theological professor to the faculty of King's College. DeLancey immediately agreed, and by June 5 the document had been delivered to the governors.

The college board and Lieutenant Governor DeLancey expected that the grant of the professorship would assure the votes in the assembly necessary to grant the provincial college fund to King's College. On the very day—June 12—that the terms of the additional charter were made public, the college governors formally petitioned the assembly for the money. The result was disaster: the house postponed consideration of the petition indefinitely.[60] The publication of the additional charter on June 23 at the expense of the province was a sad anticlimax.[61]

As soon as the assembly adjourned in June, 1755, the members hastened home to prepare for a test at the polls. For a new governor, Sir Charles Hardy, was expected to arrive shortly, and tradition, more than once broken, held that a new governor should dissolve the sitting house and order a new election. Here

[60] *Ibid.*, Jan. 20, 1755; Schneider, *eds.*, *Johnson*, IV: 24-26, 28, 30, 33-36; [Nicoll], *Brief Vindication*, p. 10; *N. Y. Assembly Journal*, II: 446, 447, June 12, 1755; [William Smith, Jr.], "Dt. Acco. of the College," [Oct., 1754?], William Smith, Jr., to Domine Van Bright [Samuel Verbryck], New York, July 26, 1755, William Smith, Jr., to Chauncey Graham, New York, June 28, 1755 (drafts), Smith Papers, NYPL.

[61] *The Additional Charter Granted to the Governors of the College of New-York, in America* (New-York, J. Parker and W. Weyman, MDCCLV). Evans 7515; Sabin 54198. It was ordered printed at public expense on June 5, 1755, and was published on June 23. *N. Y. Post-Boy*, June 23, 1755; Hastings, *eds.*, *Ecclesiastical Records of New York*, V: 3556. There were at least two printings, both by Parker and Weyman, dated 1755. The NYHS has one example in which the royal arms on the title-page are 3.6 cm. in height and another in which the arms are 5.3 cm. in height. There are other variations in the text, particularly in the marginalia.

then was finally an opportunity for the Livingstons to carry to the electorate the issues which they had been pressing for three years. And they could reasonably count on success: they had built up formidable county organizations in their fight against King's College and the vulnerability of the DeLancey machine had been demonstrated in the last legislative session.

Emotions ran high, therefore, when Sir Charles arrived on September 2, 1755. Two days later, the Livingstons sent to the governor an address from the "Watch-Tower." This address, later printed in pamphlet form and in the *Mercury*, urged Sir Charles to shun the advice of DeLancey, avoid partisan affiliation and order new elections for the assembly.[62] But after a few days of thought, the governor decided that the war against the French demanded the immediate attention of the legislature. He therefore recalled the sitting house, and thus the possibility of an election was postponed indefinitely.[63] This decision by the governor destroyed the value of the "Watch-Tower," and, with its fifty-second issue on November 17, 1755, the series of essays was suspended.

However, even if the "Watch-Tower" had not gained offices for the Livingstons, it had crippled the college, for since June two assembly sessions had passed without appropriating the lottery money. Then Hardy suddenly made a handsome personal gift to the institution. At once the politicians grew enthusiastic about the school's future. Accordingly, there was proposed a compromise whereby the college would be granted the accumulated

[62] *An Address to His Excellency Sir Charles Hardy, Knt. Captain General and Governor in Chief of the Province of New-York, and Territories thereon depending in America, and Vice-Admiral of the same. By the Author of a Weekly Paper, Entitled, The Watch-Tower* (New-York, [Hugh Gaine], M,DCC,LV). Evans 7451; Sabin [41640]. There is a copy in HEHL. Date of publication unknown. Reprinted in *N. Y. Mercury*, Sept. 8, 1755, as "The Watch-Tower, No. XLII." William Smith, Jr., Diary, II: 394, 395, Sept. 2, 4, 1755, Smith Papers, NYPL.

[63] Edmund B. O'Callaghan *et al., eds., Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York* . . . (Albany, Weed, Parsons, and Company, 1853-1887), VI: 999; *N. Y. Assembly Journal*, II: 459, Sept. 8, 1755.

money held by the trustees but would renounce for the future an annual appropriation. At once the Livingstons complained, and the "Watch-Tower" appeared again, now in broadside form. The compromise was dropped.[64]

Within a year, however, all parties were ready to bury the issue, for the excitement of the war and the wrangling over its prosecution had caused the public to tire of the quarrel over the college. So in December, 1756, the money held by the provincial trustees was divided equally, one portion going to King's College and the other to the City of New York for the construction of a jail and pest-house. Furthermore, for seven years the province would pay £500 annually to the college. "It rids us of a bone of contention," said William Smith, Senior, "by dividing it between the two pest houses."[65]

Although this compromise removed the questions of the control and financial support of King's College from partisan politics, it did not end the rivalry between the Livingstons and the DeLanceys. As the public lost interest in the debate over the college in the last months of 1755, the two parties began quarrelling over the conduct of the war on the northern frontier. The Livingstons backed General William Shirley, the DeLanceys Colonel William Johnson. Shirley failed and hence was removed from command. Both to defend Shirley and to traduce James DeLancey, William Smith, Junior, wrote *A Review of the Military Operations in North-America*. . . . The book was far more than a discussion of the opening years of the French and Indian War; it was also a highly partisan account of New York politics. Smith painted DeLancey as a highly astute and unscrupulous politician who had won complete control over the political life of New York and who had sacrificed any royal official or imperial policy

[64] *The Watch Tower, Numb. LIII. . . . January 16, 1756* ([New York, Hugh Gaine, 1756]), (broadside). Evans 7229; not listed by Sabin. There is a copy in NYHS. Date of publication unknown. Schneider, *eds., Johnson,* I: 229-231; IV: 37-39; Smith, *History of New York,* II: 237.

[65] *Ibid.; Colonial Laws of New York,* IV: 160-162.

blocking his way. Because no printer in New York would dare print such a libel, the first edition appeared in London. There it had been seen through the press by William Alexander, secretary to Shirley and the man responsible for the release of the secret military information printed in the book. The publication caused a scandal in London and a sensation in New York; the partisan division between the Livingstons and the DeLanceys, to be obliterated only by the American Revolution, had caused local provincial issues to interlock with imperial projects.[66]

Naturally, King's College, a child of bitterness, did not flourish. Its governors were uninterested; it was largely ignored by the provincial government. Its enrollment was always small, and commencements could not always be held for lack of graduates.[67]

[66] [William Smith, Junior], *A Review of the Military Operations in North-America, from The Commencement of the French Hostilities on the Frontiers of Virginia in 1753, to the Surrender of Oswego, on the 14th of August, 1756. . . . In a Letter to a Nobleman* (London, R. and J. Dodsley, M.DCC.LVII). Sabin 41649. It was published in April, 1757. A few months later, a second edition was published at Dublin, P. Wilson and J. Exshaw, M,DCC,LVII. Sabin [41650]. New printings of the first edition were issued before the Revolution in New England [New Haven, James Parker and Company], M,DCC,LVIII; New York, Alexander and James Robertson, MDCCLXX. The New Haven reprint, Evans 8163 and Sabin 41649, actually was executed by John Holt, the active partner. The New York printing is Evans 11701, Sabin 41649. In 1801 the book was reprinted in the *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, For the Year M,DCCC*, series 1, VII (Boston, Samuel Hall, 1801): 67-163. The ascription of authorship of the book is based in part upon its great similarity in content and phrasing with the original manuscript of the second volume of Smith's *History of New York*. Smith Papers, NYPL. Smith's diary also reveals that during 1755 and 1756 he acted as penman for Shirley and that William Alexander sent to Smith some of the documents used in *A Review*. William Smith, Jr., Diary, II: 397, 412, Oct. 11, 20, 1755, July 14, 17, 1756, NYPL. Comments by Smith in 1782 indicate that he regarded the book as a product of his pen. William Smith, Jr., Diary, July 4, [July] 12, [1782], NYPL. Wroth, *American Bookshelf*, pp. 167-171.

[67] The first and only contemporary catalogue of the graduates of King's College was probably published in 1774. *Catalogus Eorum exhibens Nomina qui in Collegio Regali, Novi-Eboraci, Laurea alicujus Gradus donati fuerunt, ab anno 1758 ad annum 1774* (New York, H. Gaine, [1774]), (broadside). There were two editions of this catalogue. They differ in several minor typographical details, in the columnar arrangement of the names and the spelling of Samuel Fayerweather and Philip Andrew Skene. What was probably the second edition also adds among the Masters of Arts *ad eundum* of 1774 the names of Lucas Babcock, Georgius Panton and Jacobus Sayre. These men had not been voted degrees on May 10, 1774, as had been done for all other candidates except Governor William Tryon. Nor does a

And fairly or unfairly, John Trumbull thought that the training of its graduates was a suitable subject for ridicule.[68] Certainly no great success attended the Literary Society, the sole effort to instill scholarly competition among the students. This society was founded by friends of the college in 1766 for the purpose of collecting money with which to buy prizes of silver medals and books to be awarded worthy students. Despite regular publicity, only £96 were collected, and the scheme was dropped after 1772 though the organization had medals on hand.[69]

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later minute indicate the date of their advancement, and it is very probable that the degree was voted and conferred upon their unforeseen appearance at commencement, May 17. It therefore follows that the first edition is the catalogue which lists the recipients of degrees in 1774 except for Babcock, Panton and Sayre, and that it was printed between May 10 and 16, 1774. The second edition probably came off the press a short time after May 17. Evans (13363) and Sabin (14817) both list the item, but neither indicates that there were two editions. Stokes, *comp.*, *Iconography*, I: plate 53B reproduces in facsimile the second edition. Examples of both editions are in CUL.

In the Columbia University Library are two commencement programs: *Order of Commencement, In King's College, New-York, May 21, 1771* ([New York, Hugh Gaine, 1771]); *King's-College, New-York, May 17, 1774. Order of Commencement* ([New York], H. Gaine, [1774]). Both are broadsides. Neither is listed by Evans or Sabin.

Sabin (14842) lists a volume of statutes of 1775 and locates it at Harvard College Library. It is certain that he erred and actually was referring to the statutes of 1785.

[68] [John Trumbull], *The Progress of Dulness, Part Second: or An Essay On the Life and Character of Dick Hairbrain, Of finical Memory; Being an Astronomical Calendar, Calculated for the Meridian of New-York* . . . ([New Haven, T. and S. Green], M,DCC,LXXIII). Evans 13051; Sabin 97237. There is a copy in NYPL.

[69] *N. Y. Post-Boy*, June 12, 1766; Minutes of the Literary Society, 1766-1774, Misc. Mss. Columbia College, NYHS; *For the Encouragement of Learning, in King's-College, New-York* ([New York, Hugh Gaine, 1766]), (broadside); *Subscribers Names, who have agreed to pay Three Pounds yearly, for Five Years, commencing November the Ninth, 1766, for the Encouragement of Learning, in King's-College, New York, With the Subscriptions received, and expended by Dr. Clossy* ([New York, Hugh Gaine, 1767?]), (broadside); *Subscriptions of the Literary Society, commencing November the 9th, 1766, and to continue until November 9th, 1771* ([New York, Hugh Gaine, 1769?]), (broadside); *A list of the Subscribers who have agreed to pay Three Pounds yearly, for Five Years, to be distributed in Premiums for the Encouragement of Learning in King's College, New York. His Excellency Sir Henry Moore, Patron* ([New York, Hugh Gaine, 1766?]), (broadside). None of these four broadsides has been catalogued by Evans or Sabin. All but the last are in the broadside collection of NYHS; the fourth is in Misc. Mss. Columbia College, NYHS.

However, the college was wealthy, thanks to the founding provincial grant and the supplementary gifts of Joseph Murray of New York and innumerable Englishmen. This money permitted the erection of a handsome building[70] in a lamentable neighborhood[71] and the creation of a sizable endowment. Because of its income from investments, the college authorities could forego substantial returns from tuition, and therefore instruction was continuous from 1754 until the Revolution intervened. And the faculty was capable and its presidents men of personable qualities. None denied Samuel Johnson's personal prestige in America and in England, and the second president, Myles Cooper, delighted Oliver Goldsmith with a poetical preface to a New York reprint of *The Deserted Village*.[72]

The greatest contribution made by King's to higher education probably was the foundation in 1767 of the second medical school in English America.[73] The training was on the undergraduate

[70] There are only two adequate pre-Revolutionary descriptions of the building. One was by the Reverend Andrew Burnaby, *Travels through the Middle Settlements in North America, in the Years 1759 and 1760: With Observations upon the State of the Colonies* (The Second Edition, London, T. Payne, MDCCLXXV), pp. 106, 107. Sabin 9359. A copy is in LC. The second account was by [Hugh Gaine], *Gaine's Universal Register, or, American and British Kalendar, For the Year 1775* (New-York, H. Gaine, [1774]), pp. 102, 103. Evans 13290; Sabin 26332. A copy is in NYPL. Both were widely pirated.

The first accurate illustration of the college was the engraving by Alexander Anderson in *The New-York Magazine; or, Literary Repository*, I (New-York, Thomas and James Swords, May, M,DCC,XC): [254]. A copy is in NYPL. It has been reproduced in Stokes, *comp., Iconography*, I: plate 53a and Schneider, *eds., Johnson*, IV: [264]. An earlier, somewhat romanticized sketch, known as the "Palm Tree Print," was made about 1763 by Captain Thomas Howdell and published as an engraving by P. Canot in 1768. It is reproduced in Stokes, *comp., op. cit.*, I: plate 38 and in Schneider, *eds., op. cit.*, IV: [2].

[71] [Trumbull], *op. cit.*, p. 13; Carl Bridenbaugh, *ed., Patrick M'Robert's Tour Through Part of the North Provinces of America*, in: *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LIX (1935): 139, 140, 142.

[72] Th[omas] Coombe to [Benjamin Rush], London, June 25, 1771, Benjamin Rush Papers, XXXIII: 41, Library Company of Philadelphia. No reprint of the *Deserted Village* meeting Coombe's description is listed in Evans or Sabin, and I have not been able to locate a copy.

[73] Peter Middleton, *A Medical Discourse, or an Historical Inquiry Into the ancient and present State of Medicine: The substance of which Was delivered at open-*

level, but it represented a genuine advance over the apprenticeship system. Nevertheless, the social and economic status of doctors in New York was so low that the school did not attract many students, and by 1776 it had graduated but twelve physicians.[74] However, a thesis of one of these men was considered of sufficient merit to be published.[75]

In the passing decades, these modest accomplishments permitted the Livingston scribblers and their fellow-Presbyterians to make comparison between their more flourishing institution at Princeton and King's in New York. Their conclusions gave them no little satisfaction and precipitated in 1772 yet another vigorous paper war over college policies and religious loyalties. Once again William Livingston and Thomas Bradbury Chandler were in the fray, now joined by younger men such as John Witherspoon and John Vardill.[76] Some names changed; the words were

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ing the Medical School, In the City of New-York (New-York, Hugh Gaine, M,DCC,LXIX). Evans 11338; Sabin 48866. Sabin's note that this pamphlet contained a portrait of Myles Cooper apparently depended upon a binder's addition to the copy in the Army Medical Library. (Memo. of Miss Dorothy M. Schullian, August 4, 1950.)

[74] Among the manuscripts of the New-York Historical Society are four tickets of admission to medical lectures at King's, all issued to James Graham by Dr. Samuel Bard and Dr. John Jones in 1774 and 1775. In the New-York Historical Society's broadside collection is another ticket printed on the verso of a playing-card —the eight of spades: *This Ticket doth entitle Mr.* [*Graham*] *to attend the public Lectures in Anatomy, in the Year 177*[*3.*] *King's College, New-York* ([New York, 1773?]). The card is initialled "S. C."—Dr. Samuel Clossy. This item is not listed by Evans or Sabin. J[ohn] Watts to R[obert] Monckton, New York, Jan. 6, 1766, Chalmers Papers, New York, II: 8, NYPL; Schneider, *eds., Johnson,* IV: 255-260.

[75] Samuel Kissam, *An Inaugural Essay on the Anthelmintic Quality of the Phaseolus Zuratensis Siliqua hirsuta, or Cow-Itch. Submitted to the Examination of the Rev. Myles Cooper, L. L. D. President, The Governors, And Medical Professors of King's College, in New-York, For the Degree of Doctor in Physic, at the annual Commencement, May 21, 1771* (New-York, S. Inslee and A. Car, M,DCC,LXXI). Evans 12091; not listed by Sabin. There is a copy in LC.

[76] [John Witherspoon], *Address to the Inhabitants of Jamaica, and other West-India Islands, In Behalf of the College of New-Jersey* (Philadelphia, William and Thomas Bradford, M.DCC.LXXII). Evans 12627; Sabin 104930. There is a copy in PUL. The pamphlet is signed by John Witherspoon on page 27. [Thomas Bradbury Chandler?], *Candid Remarks on Dr. Witherspoon's Address To the Inhabitants of Jamaica, And the other West-India Islands, &c. In a Letter to those Gentlemen* (Philadelphia, [William Goddard], MDCCLXXII). Evans 12346; not listed by

different; the animosity and jealousy were as great. In the phrase that the late Edna St. Vincent Millay made almost entirely her own: *Aria da Capo.*

Sabin. There is a copy in NYHS. Published between December 26, 1772, and January 2, 1773. *The Pennsylvania Chronicle, and Universal Advertiser*, Jan. 2, 1773; *N. Y. Post-Boy*, Feb. 1 (NYHS photostat), Feb. 8, 1773; *N. Y. Mercury*, Dec. 7, 28, 1772, Jan. 18, 1773; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Nov. 4, 1772; M[ilton] H[alsey] T[homas], *John Vardill*, in: *D. A. B.*, XIX, 222.

A Consideration of the Bibliographical Problems Connected with the First Edition of *Humphry Clinker*

By Franklin B. Newman

In the February, 1950, issue of *The New Colophon* David Randall once again calls attention to the problems of the early editions of Tobias Smollett's *Humphry Clinker*.[1] He points out that the main problem in connection with the book involves the fact that there are two distinct editions of *Humphry Clinker*, both with the identical imprint (London, Printed for W. Johnston in Ludgate-Street; and B. Collins, in Salisbury), both labeled the first edition, and both with the misdate 1671 on the title page of Volume I. Otherwise the two editions are from distinctly different settings of type, except for the C gathering in the second volume of the two sets of copies. The two editions have the same collations, and they are page for page identical, although not line for line so.[2] Their ornaments differ at the head

[1] The problem of *Humphry Clinker* first made its appearance in print in a series of questions and answers in *Bibliographical Notes and Queries* in 1936. There T. Warburton opened the discussion of the book, and G. G., Esher, and Louella F. Norwood continued it. Various confusions persisted, however, such as G. G.'s quoting from a bookseller's catalogue to the effect that one of the 1671 first editions had no ornaments at all. The problem was left ill-defined and unsettled. Then in 1942 Randall in his revision of John T. Winterich's *A Primer of Book-Collecting* summarized the situation once again. For these various articles and references see "Query No. 107. Smollett: *Humphry Clinker*, 1771-2," in: *Bibliographical Notes and Queries*, Vol. II, No. 1, January 1936; Vol. II, No. 3, April 1936; Vol. II, Nos. 4 and 5, May 1936; John T. Winterich and David Randall, *A Primer of Book-Collecting* (New York, Greenberg, 1942), pp. 152 and 156; and David Randall, "Humphry Clinker," in "The Court of Appeals" in *The New Colophon: A Book Collectors' Quarterly*, Vol. II, Part 8, February 1950.

[2] There is one brief span of pages where this page for page identity is not quite

of the various letters. Their relationship is further confused by the fact that the one edition also occurs in the Wells copy at Harvard with the second edition title page.

The questions which naturally occur to the bibliographer are fairly straightforward. First of all, is there a possibility of sophistication? In the case of Mr. Randall's volumes in New York, which he has kindly allowed me to look at on numerous occasions, this does not seem to be the case. Secondly, assuming that the ambiguous edition does legitimately appear with both first and second edition title pages, when was this edition of the book set? Under what circumstances? And why? Could it have preceded the setting of type that always seems to have a first edition title page? Was it a separate setting by itself between this setting and the setting that always appears with a second edition title page dated 1771? Could it have been set simultaneously with either the former or the latter? It is toward a solution of this problem, or at least toward a comprehensive statement of the difficulties in the way of such a solution, that this paper is dedicated.

Because of the confusion that the previous discussions of *Clinker* have fallen into through a failure to describe the book in detail, gathering by gathering, I offer at this point such a description. The four settings of type, all of which appear with the Johnston and Collins imprint, are labeled A, B, C, and D. Not only are press numbers and detailed catalogues of the various ornaments appearing in the various editions given, but also

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perfect. The two main versions of the text, which hereafter will be designated A and B, cease to be page for page at p. 60 in Volume I and return to being page for page at p. 64. The catchwords for these pages follow:

	A	B
p. 59	The	The
p. 60	"ronet	"head-
p. 61	and	aunt
p. 62	coffee-	glean
p. 63	spleen	upon
p. 64	labour	labour

Otherwise the books are page by page.

two line readings for each gathering in each edition, so that any possible mingling of sheets that may be detected in any further bibliographical study of this book can be quickly identified. For the sake of graphic presentation, I have also repeated in the charts of readings the occurrence or non-occurrence of the press numbers. A further graphic indication of the occurrence of the various ornaments would seem desirable; but short of elaborate photostating I have seen no way to manage this, and such photostating seems impractical. The collations of the four settings of type, taking edition B in this case in its 1671 first edition form, are as follows:

Edition A.

Half-title: *The / Expedition / of / Humphry Clinker. / Vol. I. /* [Vols. 'II' and 'III']

Title page: *The / Expedition / of / Humphry Clinker. /* By the *Author* of / *Roderick Random. / | / In Three Volumes. / Vol. I* ['II.' and 'III.'] / | / – Latin quotation from *Hor. / || / London, /* Printed for *W. Johnston,* in Ludgate-Street; / and *B. Collins,* in Salisbury. / MDCLXXI. / [Vols. 'II' and 'III' are correctly dated MDCCLXXI.]

Collation by Signatures: Vol. I.: [ ]^{2}, a^{6}, B-L^{12}, M^{6}; Vol. II.: [ ]^{2}, B-L^{12}, M^{6}; Vol. III.: [ ]^{2}, B-M^{12}, N^{6}.

Press Numbers: Vol. I.: 6 on sig. aIv; I on BIv and 2 on B8v; I on CIv and 2 on C8v; 2 on D7v and I on D12v; I on E7v; 2 on F2v and I on F12r; 8 on G6v and 4 on G11v; 7 on H2v and I on H11v; 6 on I7v and 8 on I12v; I on K2v and 2 on K5v; 2 on L6v; and 7 on M4v.

Vol. II.: I on sig. BIv and 2 on B7r; I on CIv and 2 on C12v; I on DIv and 2 on D6v; I on E12r and 2 on E12v; I on F5v and 2 on F7r; 7 on G7r and 4 on G11v; 7 on H5v; 2 on I6v and I on I8r; 2 on K2v and 8 on K5v; 8 on L2v and 6 on L5v; and 7 on M4v.

Vol. III.: 2 on sig. B6v and I on B11v; 6 on C6v and 7 on C7v; 7on D11r and 2 on D11v; 7 on EIv and 2 on E12v; I on F8r and 2 on F12v; 6 on GIv and I on G8v; 7 on H5v; 6 on I2v and I on I5v;

I on K11v and 6 on K12v; 2 on L8r and I on L12v; 7 on M11v and 6 on M12v; and 6 on N3v.

Ornaments: Vol. I.: Ornament *a*: pp. 3 and 87; *b*: pp. 5, 34, 83, 121, 163, 165, 228, and 233; *c*: pp. 6, 11, 118, 137, 191, and 200; *d*: p. 9 (a somewhat mixed ornament); *e*: pp. 14, 63, 110, 157, and 215; *f*: p. 22; and *g*: pp. 24, 40, 45, 50, 75, 90, 97, 132, 146, 150, and 182.

Vol. II.: Ornament *g*: pp. 14, 53, 82, 87, 137, 148, 199, and 225; *c*: pp. 36, 41, and 162; *b*: pp. 64, 99, 122, 186, and 229; *e*: pp. 78 and 216; and *a*: p. 85.

Vol. III.: Ornament *g*: pp. 12, 65, 69, 99, 149, 168, 237, 240, and 244; *c*: pp. 30, 59, 122, 172, 208, 272, and 273; *b*: pp. 43, 113, 178, 184, 259, and 268; *e*: pp. 83 and 201; *d*: pp. 96 and 233; and *a*: p. 226.

Edition B.

Half-title: *The / Expedition / of / Humphry Clinker. / Vol. I.* / [Vols. 'II' and 'III']

Title page: *The / Expedition / of / Humphry Clinker.* / By the *Author* of / *Roderick Random.* / | / *In Three Volumes.* / *Vol. I.* ['II.' and 'III.'] / | / Latin quotation from *Hor.* / || / *London,* / Printed for *W. Johnston,* in Ludgate-Street; / and *B. Collins,* in Salisbury. / MDCLXXI. / [Vols. 'II' and 'III' are correctly dated MDCCLXXI.]

Collation by Signatures: Vol. I.: [ ]^{2}, a^{6}, B-L^{12}, M^{6}; Vol. II.: [ ]^{2}, B-L^{12}, M^{6}; Vol. III.: [ ]^{2}, B-M^{12}, N^{6}.

Press Numbers: Vol. I.: None except 6 on sig. MIv and 4 on sig. M2v.

Vol. II.: I on sig. CIv and 2 on C12v; and 2 on M3v.

Vol. III.: 7 on sig. B8r; 2 on C6v and 7 on C8r; 7 on D12r and 4 on D12v; 6 on E6v and 7 on E8r; 7 on F10v and 4 on F11v; 7 on G8r and 4 on G11r; 4 on H8r and 7 on H9r; 2 on I6v and I on I12r; 7 on K5v and 2 on K7r; 2 on L5v and 7 on L11r; and 7 on M4v.

Ornaments: Vol. I.: Ornament *a*: pp. 3 and 97; *b*: p. 5; *c*: pp. 6, 9, 118, 137, 165, and 191; *d*: p. 11; *e*: pp. 14, 87, 157, and 215; *f*: pp. 22 and 63; *g*: pp. 24 and 182; *h*: pp. 34, 90, 132, and 200; *i*: pp. 40,

110, 121, 163, and 228; *j*: pp. 45, 75, 146, and 233; *k*: p. 50; and *l*: p. 150.

Vol. II.: Ornament *h*: p. 14; *m*: pp. 36 and 41; *n*: pp. 53, 122, and 216; *i*: pp. 162 and 64 (has fleur-de-lis inverted); *j*: p. 78; *g*: p. 85; *e*: p. 87; *a*: pp. 99 and 186; *o*: pp. 137 and 199; *b*: pp. 148 and 225; and *l*: pp. 82 and 229.[3]

Vol. III.: Ornament *m*: pp. 12, 30, 59, 96, 99, 168, 201, 226, 237, 240, 259, 268, and 272; ornament *m* mixed with *b* and *i*: p. 208; *a*: pp. 43, 149, 244, and mixed on p. 65; *k*: pp. 69 and 178; *b*: p. 83; ornament *k* mixed with *o*, *b*, and others: pp. 113 and 233; ornament *b* mixed with *i*: pp. 172 and 273; and ornament *g* mixed: p. 184.

Edition C.

Half-title: *The / Expedition / of / Humphry Clinker. / Vol. I. /* [Vols. 'II' and 'III']

Title page: *The / Expedition / of / Humphry Clinker.* / By the *Author* of / *Roderick Random.* / | / *The Second Edition.* / *Vol. I.* ['II.' and 'III.'] / | / Latin quotation from Horace / || / *London,* / Printed for *W. Johnston,* in Ludgate-Street; / and *B. Collins,* in Salisbury. / MDCC-LXXI. /

Collation by Signatures: Vol. I.: [ ]², a⁶, B-L¹², M⁶; Vol. II.: [ ]², B-L¹², M⁶; Vol. III.: [ ]², B-M¹², N⁶.

Press Numbers: No press numbers in any of the three volumes.

[3] Although the ornaments in this setting are lettered alphabetically as in the A setting, they are not, except in a few instances, the same ornaments. Indeed, it is through the variation in ornaments that the four settings of the book can be most easily differentiated. Edition A, it should be noted, uses essentially seven ornaments; edition B, fifteen; edition C, three; and edition D, none at all. The instances in which the same ornament recurs in different settings are as follows:

Ornament *b* of A is the same as ornament *a* of B.
" *c* of A " " " " " *m* " B.
" *e* of A " " " " the combination of *b* and *i* of B.
Ornament *f* of A is the same as ornament *b* of B.

Finally, ornament *l* of B is the same as ornament *a* of C.

Ornaments: Vol. I.: Ornament *a*: pp. 3, 9 (slight variation), 11, 22, 45, 83, 87, 90, 118, 200, 215, and 228; *b*: pp. 6, 24, 40, 50, 63, 132, 137, 146, 165, and 182; *c*: pp. 14, 34, 75, 97, 110, 121, 150, 157, 163, 191, and 233.

Vol. II.: Ornament *c*: pp. 14, 36, 53, 64, 78, 87, 99, 122, 148, 162, 199, 216, and 229; *a*: pp. 41, 82, and 186; *b*: pp. 85 and 137.

Vol. III.: Ornament *c*: pp. 12, 69, 83, 113, 168, 172 (slight variation), and 233 (same variation); *a*: pp. 30, 59, 99, 201, 208, 226, 240, 244, 259, 268, and 272; and *b*: pp. 43, 65, 96, 122, 149, 178, 184 (slight variation), 237, and 273.

Edition D.

Half-title: *The / Expedition / of / Humphry Clinker. / Vol. I. /* [Vols. 'II' and 'III']

Title page: *The / Expedition / of / Humphry Clinker.* / By the *Author* of / *Roderick Random.* / | / *The Second Edition.* / *Vol. I.* ['II.' and 'III.'] / | / – Latin quotation from Horace / || / *London:* / Printed for *W. Johnston,* in Ludgate-Street; / and *B. Collins,* in Salisbury. / MDCC-LXXII. /

Collation by Signatures: Vol. I.: [ ]^{2}, A^{6}, B-L^{12}, M^{6}; Vol. II.: [ ]^{2}, B-L^{12}, M^{6}; Vol. III.: [ ]^{2}, B-M^{12}, N^{6}.

Press Numbers: No press numbers in any of the three volumes.

Ornaments: No ornaments in any of the three volumes.

For purposes of further differentiating the four settings of type the following line readings will prove helpful.

Volume I

	EDITION A.	EDITION B.	EDITION C.	EDITION D.
p. vi.	6 on a1v	No press number	No press number	No press number
p. vii. l. 19.	state—	state---	state—	state—
p. xiii.	xiii) (Not always, however)	(xiii)	(xiii)	(xiii)
p. xiv.	Aug. 10th.	Aug. 10$^{t}_{h}$.	Aug. 10th.	Aug. 10th.
p. 2. l. 10.	Bristol,	Bris-	Bris-	Bristol,
p. 2.	I on BIv	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 16.	2 on B8v	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 19. l. 10.	af-	affair	affair	af-
p. 26.	I on CIv	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 33. l. 2.	de- (18 lines of type on this page)	descrip- (17 lines of type on this page)	descrip- (17 lines of type on this page)	de- (18 lines of type on this page)
p. 40.	2 on C8v	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 44. l. 16.	iucophlegmatic[4]	leucophlegmatic	leucophlegmatic	leucophlegmatic
p. 55. l. 7.	hard-	hard-fa-	hard-fa-	hard-
p. 62.	2 on D7v	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 63. l. 1.	conti-	ei-	ei-	conti-
p. 72.	I on D12v	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 83.	Bramble-	Brambleton-	Brambleton-	Bramble-
p. 86.	I on E7v	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 96. l. 10.	Jer- ry	Je- ry	Jery (all on one line)	Je- ry

p. 114. l. 7.	mix-	mixed	mixed	mixed
p. 119.	I on F12r	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 125. l. 10.	occa- sion	oc- casion	oc- casion	occa- sion
p. 132.	8 on G6v	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 135. l. 30.	plas- ters	plais- ters	plais- ters	plais- ters
p. 142.	4 on G11v	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 145.	yours always,	Yours always,	Yours, always,	Yours always,
p. 147.	473	147	147	147
p. 148.	7 on H2v	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 149. l. 21.	pil- lowber	pil- lober	pil- lober	pil- lowber
p. 166.	I on H11v	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 169. l. 19.	bet-	better	better	bet-
p. 182.	6 on I7v	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 190.	yours always,	Yours always,	Yours always,	Yours always,
p. 192.	8 on I12v	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 193. l. 12.	pro- spect	pros- pect	pros- pect	pro- spect
p. 196.	I on K2v	NPN	NPN	NPN

[4] I give this variant reading because it seems to occur in a limited but noticeable percentage of the copies from this setting. The error, which seems to have been due to a displacement of type in the form, is not present in the larger percentage of copies.

	EDITION A.	EDITION B.	EDITION C.	EDITION D.
p. 201. l. 24.	Bar-	Barton,	Barton,	Bar-
p. 202.	2 on K5v	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 220. l. 1.	Dettin-	Dettingen;	Dettingen;	Dettin-
p. 227.	yours always,	Yours always,	Yours always,	Yours always,
p. 228.	2 on L6v	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 242.	NPN	6 on MIv	NPN	NPN
p. 244.	NPN	4 on M2v	NPN	NPN
p. 245. l. 23.	cere-	ceremo-	ceremo-	cere-
p. 247.	NPN	NPN[5]	NPN	NPN
p. 248.	7 on M4v	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 249.	249	449	249	249

Volume II

p. 2. l. 3.	flagg,	flag,	flagg,	flag,
p. 2.	I on BIv	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 5. l. 9.	asser-	assertions.	assertions.	asser-
p. 13.	your unvariable friend,	Your unvariable friend,	Your unvariable friend,	your unvariable friend,
p. 13.	2 on B7r	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 17. l. 28.	tho',	tho'	tho'	tho',
p. 18. l. 5.	im- perfection	imper- fection	imper- fection	im- perfection
p. 20. l. 2.	Irish [no hyphen] brogue	Irish- brogue	Irish- brogue	Irish [no hyphen] brogue

p. 20. l. 28.	sance	sance	sance	sance
p. 26.	I on CIv	I on CIv	NPN	NPN
p. 48.	2 on C12v	2 on C12v	NPN	NPN
p. 55. l. 2.	purpose—"	purpose."	purpose."	purpose—"
p. 60.	2 on D6v	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 67. l. 22.	posti- lion	postil- lion	postil- lion	posti- lion
p. 81. l. 6.	tinc-	tincture	tincture	tincture
p. 84.	humble sarvant,	Humble sarvant,	Humble sarvant,	humble sarvant,
p. 95.	I on E12r	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 96.	2 on E12v	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 98.	yours affectionately,	Yours affectionately,	Yours affectionately,	Yours affectionately,
p. 106.	I on F5v	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 109.	2 on F7r	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 114. l. 24.	expressing	ex-	ex-	expressing
p. 133.	7 on G7r	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 136. l. 14.	cured	day	day	cured
p. 137. l. 10.	situation,	situ-	situ-	situation,
p. 142.	4 on G11v	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 146. l. 14.	a-	aspect	aspect	a-

[5] Occasionally the B-setting may have a press number I on this page. At least, the Wells copy at Harvard looks as though it might have.

One A-setting that I have seen seemed to have a press number 7 on this page. This copy belonged to Mrs. Laird U. Park of Germantown, Philadelphia.

	EDITION A.	EDITION B.	EDITION C.	EDITION D.
p. 147. l. 10.	go-	going	going	go-
p. 154.	7 on H5v	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 157. l. 12.	Lad- dies	Led- dies	Led- dies	Led- dies
p. 162.	Bar^{t}.	Bart.	Bart.	Bart.
p. 173. l. 28.	wo-	woman,	woman,	wo-
p. 180.	2 on I6v	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 183. l. 13.	affirmed,	affirm-	affirm-	affirmed,
p. 183.	I on I8r	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 196.	2 on K2v	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 199.	Bar^{t}.	Bart.	Bart.	Bart.
p. 202.	8 on K5v	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 214. l. 17.	Great-Bri-	Great-Britain.	Great-Britain.	Great-Britain.
p. 220.	8 on L2v	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 222. l. 17.	themselves	them-	them-	themselves
p. 226.	6 on L5	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 228.	Addingborough	Addingburough	Addingburough	Addingborough
p. 238. l. 27.	e-	edifica-	edifica-	e-
p. 245. l. 18.	tutor-	tu-	tu-	tu-
p. 246.	NPN	2 on M3v	NPN	NPN
p. 248.	7 on M4v	NPN	NPN	NPN

p. 12.	2 on B6v	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 15.	NPN	7 on B8r	NPN	NPN
p. 16. l. 28.	through	thro'	thro'	through
p. 18. l. 16.	Low-land Scots	Lowland Scots	Lowland Scots	Low-land Scots
p. 22.	I on B11v	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 29. l. 3.	cross	propose	propose	cross
p. 36.	6 on C6v	2 on C6v	NPN	NPN
p. 38.	7 on C7v	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 39.	NPN	7 on C8r	NPN	NPN
p. 45. l. 5.	con-	convenient	convenient	con-
p. 69.	Dear Knihgt,	Dear Knight,	Dear Knight,	Dear Knight,
p. 69.	7 on D11r	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 70.	2 on D11v	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 70.	70	72	70	70
p. 71.	NPN	7 on D12r	NPN	NPN
p. 72.	NPN	4 on D12v	NPN	NPN
p. 74.	7 on E1v	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 74. l. 14.	returned (at end of line)	return-	returned (within line)	returned (within line)
p. 78. l. 6.	proceed-	pro-	proceed-	proceed-
p. 84.	NPN	6 on E6v	NPN	NPN
p. 87.	NPN	7 on E8r	NPN	NPN
p. 87. l. 11.	dutchess	Dutchess	Dutchess	dutchess

	EDITION A.	EDITION B.	EDITION C.	EDITION D.
p. 95. l. 1.	Buxton,	Bux-	Bux-	Buxton,
p. 96.	2 on E12v	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 104. l. 30.	conti- nue (31 ll. on page)	con- nue (31 ll. on page)	con- tinue (goes over to p. 105)	con- tinue (same page)
p. 111.	I on F8r	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 111. l. 13.	concomi-	con-	con-	con-
p. 116.	NPN	7 on F10v	NPN	NPN
p. 118.	NPN	4 on F11v	NPN	NPN
p. 120.	2 on F12v	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 122.	6 on GIv	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 134. l. 22.	scoroc- coni	scroc- coni	scroc- coni	scoroc- coni
p. 135. l. 27.	bighetti	biglietti	biglietti	bighetti
p. 135.	NPN	7 on G8r	NPN	NPN
p. 136.	I on G8v	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 141.	NPN	4 on G11r	NPN	NPN
p. 148. l. 1.	whom	with	with	with
p. 154.	7 on H5v	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 159.	NPN	4 on H8r	NPN	NPN
p. 161.	NPN	7 on H9r	NPN	NPN
p. 161. l. 10.	Ah! friend,	A! friend,	A! friend,	Ah! friend,
p. 169. l. 16.	would (middle of line)	wou'd (middle of line)	wou'd (middle of line)	would (middle of line)
	[illegible]	NPN	NPN	NPN

p. 178.	Jesus college, Oxon.	of Jesus college, Oxon.	of Jesus college, Oxon.	Jesus college, Oxon.
p. 179. l. 24.	inclosed	inclos-	inclo-	an
p. 180.	NPN	2 on I6v	NPN	NPN
p. 191.	NPN	I on I12r	NPN	NPN
p. 196. l. 9.	per-	person	person	per-
p. 201. l. 7.	will	not	not	not
p. 202.	NPN	7 on K5v	NPN	NPN
p. 204. l. 16.	cheap-	cheaper	cheaper	cheap-
p. 205.	NPN	2 on K7r	NPN	NPN
p. 214.	I on K11v	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 216.	6 on K12v	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 222. l. 13.	aarrived	arrived	arrived	arrived
p. 226.	NPN	2 on L5v	NPN	NPN
p. 231.	2 on L8r	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 233.	To Miss Laetitia Willis, at Gloucester	To Miss Laetitia Willis at Gloucester	To Miss Laetitia Willis at Glou-cester	To Miss Laetitia Willis at Gloucester
p. 237.	NPN	7 on L11r	NPN	NPN
p. 240.	I on L12v	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 242. l. 14.	marred	married	married	marred
p. 248.	NPN	7 on M4v	NPN	NPN
p. 255. l. 4.	mortgage.	mortgate.	mortgate.	mortgage.
p. 262.	7 on M11v	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 264.	6 on M12v	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 268.	Nov. 8	Nov. 14	Nov. 14	Nov. 8

	EDITION A.	EDITION B.	EDITION C.	EDITION D.
p. 270.	6 on N3v	NPN	NPN	NPN
p. 271. l. 5.	amusements,	amuse-	amuse-	amusements, [6]

[6] For those who wish to check the older readings given in *Bibliographical Notes and Queries* against the above identifications the following chart is provided. In general, C edition will follow B, but I have not been able to check it in preparing the present footnote.

	A	B	D
Preliminary leaves			
Vol. I.	Sigs. in lower case	l.c.	Caps.
Body of text			
Vol. I, II, III	Sigs. in caps.	Caps.	Caps.
I, v	Aug. 4	Aug. 4.	Aug. 14
I, ix	respected sir,	respected sir,	Respected Sir,
I, ix	your very humble servant,	your very humble servant,	Your very humble servant,
I, 3	Mrs. Gwyllim in heading	Mrs. Gwyllim	Mrs. Gwyllim
I, 3	Mrs. Gwillim in address	Mrs. Gwillim	Mrs. Guillim
I, 147	Misnumber 473	147	147
I, 250	End of Firt Volume	First	First
II, 2, line 3	flagg,	flag,	flag,
II, 2, line 7	This	This	cen-
II, 145	Footnote in 18 lines without a rule at its head	17 lines with a rule	18 lines with a rule
II, 184	The Expedition of	Humphry Clinker	The Expedition of
III, 272	Mrs. Gwyllim in heading	Mrs. Gwyllim	Mrs. Gwyllim
III, 272	Mrs. Gwlilim in address	Mrs. Gwyllim	Mrs. Gwyllim

The new readings which Randall has supplied in *The New Colophon* I have not included. The reader may fit them into his investigations himself.

Two major variations from these standard patterns deserve notice. Signature C of Volume II, as here collated, is the same in both editions A and B. This signature, however, in the Wells copy of the B setting at Harvard, which appears with a second edition title page and the date 1771, is a distinct setting in its own right. For example, on page 25 the setting of the Wells copy has Vol. II at the bottom of the page flush with the left-hand margin; setting A, which is the setting that 1671-B uses, has it indented. In addition, the ornaments on pages 36 and 41 are the same ornament in the 1671 version of B, but they differ in the 1771 second edition B. In this version the ornament on page 36 is the same ornament as that which occurs on page 5 of Volume I and pages 148 and 225 of Volume II. The ornament on page 41 is the same ornament as that which occurs on page 150 of Volume I and pages 82 and 229 of Volume II. Moreover, the press numbers are missing in the 1771 second edition B, and the line endings have changed.

LINE READINGS FOR SIG. C OF VOL. II

	B-1671-1st (Same setting as A)	B-1771-2nd	C-1771-2nd	D-1772-2nd
p. 31. l. 8.	been	have	have	been
p. 32. l. 12.	S--	S—	S—	S—
p. 34. l. 6.	Dick's	from	from	Dick's
p. 35. l. 2.	Psalmo-	Psalmona-	Psalmona-	Psalmo-
p. 36. l. 3.	oppor-	opportu-	opportu-	oppor-
p. 39. l. 26.	rea-	reason,	reason,	rea-
p. 40. l. 1.	which	heavy	heavy	which
p. 43. l. 8.	Bar-	Barton,	Barton,	Bar-
p. 47. l. 9.	--"	—"	—-	—"

The other major variation, which may, however, be of considerably less significance than the preceding, occurs in M-gathering of Volume I of A-edition. The Chapin Library copy at Williams College, which is an A text of *Humphry Clinker*, has for this gathering a setting entirely its own, signed with the press number 6 on M3v, and containing line readings which are distinct from those of both A and B settings, the only two in which press numbers occur. Apparently at some point in the issuance of the A edition M sheets for Volume I ran out and a new M setting was necessitated.

The differentiating readings for this setting are as follows:

	Williams A	Standard A	B	C	D
p. 245. l. 8.	C--	C—	C---	C—	C—
p. 245. l. 23.	cere-	cere-	ceremo-	ceremo-	cere-
p. 245. l. 25.	Socie-	Socie-	Society	Society	Socie-
p. 246. l. 26.	imerg-	emerg-	emerged	emerged	emerged
p. 247. l. 9.	to	drive	drive	drive	drive
p. 247. l. 10.	unsuc-	unsuccessful	unsuccessful	unsuccessful	unsuccessful
p. 248. l. 12.	vapour,	vapour,	vapour	vapour	vapour,
p. 248. l. 17.	off	a	a	a	a
p. 248. l. 18.	co-	conun-	conun-	conun-	conun-
p. 249. l. 15.	Yet,	with-	with	Yet,	with-
p. 249. l. 16.	were	of	of	were	of
p. 249. l. 17.	ingenuity	they	they	as	they

The bibliographer's immediate concern is, of course, with the problem of which of the two settings appearing with a first edition title page is the true first edition, or if they were twins appearing simultaneously, the real first setting. An infallible case with the evidence now available does not seem indicated, but certain lines of thought can be sketched out to await verification or

further details from holders of *Humphry Clinkers* who may feel moved to compare their copies with the descriptions herein set forth.

In the first place, the fact that the B setting of type appears both with a second edition title page and with a first edition title page, whereas the A setting appears never to have assumed a second edition title page, seems to indicate a certain pristineity for A that B cannot approach. Furthermore, the mixture of the A setting of the C gathering in the second volumes of the sets of B which occur with first edition title pages suggests priority for A, for A in the fifteen sets that the author has seen maintains a pure text without any suggestion of mixed sheets from B. In addition, the fact that the 1771 second edition, which is here called C, seems to be very close to B, suggests a middle stage for the B setting, particularly in the light of the fact that B contains some of the same ornaments as both A and C, whereas C contains none of the A ornaments, and the 1772 second edition has no ornaments at all.

In the settings themselves certain other indicative evidence is available. For example, it will be noted that the A setting is incorrect on pages 134 and 135 of Volume III in the spelling of the two Italian words *scrocconi* and *biglietti,* whereas the B setting has these words correctly spelled.[7] It seems highly unlikely

[7] Technical and foreign words are particularly significant as internal evidence in this sort of problem because they are not the common kind of word that a compositor might feel free to spell as he pleased. Shifts in the spelling of *plasters* from *plasters* in A to *plaisters* in B (I, 135) or of *pillowber* from *pillowber* in A to *pillober* in B (I, 149) would seem to have little value in establishing priority in the various settings of the book, for these were minor matters that the various compositors felt free to standardize in their own fashion. The shift, even, from *marred* in A (III, 242) to *married* in B would seem to be the work of a compositor who corrected at his own discretion what he felt needed correction. Another explanation of this latter change can be given, of course; that is, that the A compositor was copying from B rather than *vice-versa* and that in copying *married,* which was already correctly spelled, dropped an *i*; but this does not seem likely in my estimation, in the light of the rest of the evidence as to which setting preceded which and in the light of the splendid pun involved in the spelling *marred.* The case, however, can always be urged and shows how doubtful any but the most noteworthy of shifts in spelling is.

that if B were the first setting and correct and the A compositor were setting from it he would misspell either of these words. An occasional slip would be understandable, but a slip on two such words, which must have been extraordinary to the typesetter (even in the late eighteenth century) and which consequently must have suggested extreme care in re-setting, is most unlikely. Moreover, the nature of the misspellings suggests that the A compositor or compositors were setting from manuscript. When the A compositor sets a *co (scorocconi)* for a *c* and an *h (bighetti)* for an *li*, these errors strongly suggest the mistaking of a loop at the end of a holograph *c* for an extra *o* and the confusion of a holograph *li* for an *h*. On these grounds, then, A setting seems to have preceded B.[8]

The same conclusion is likewise suggested by the internal spacing of the two settings of type. The compositors of A seem, in general, to have spaced their words more generously than the B compositors. As a result, the B setting of type has a tighter appearance than does the A, and the reader has the feeling that B saves space over A. Ordinarily we should expect this to be indicative of a second setting of type, but in the present case there seem to be specific instances that confirm the conjecture. Indeed, the fact that the two settings had to remain page by page seems to have forced the B compositors on a noticeable number of occasions to use an exceptional three em dash to drop back to where A was in the text.[9] Since the result is not always aesthetically pleasing, it seems unlikely that the dashes are to be explained in any way but on the grounds of necessity. Of some fifteen or twenty instances of this peculiarity that I have noted in the B setting the following seven seem to be most noteworthy.

[8] For what it is worth, it should be noted at this point that the review of *Humphry Clinker* that appears in the July, 1771, issue of *The Gentlemen's Magazine* spells these critical words as does A rather than B. If B was simultaneous with A, of course, these A spellings would be purely fortuitous. Nevertheless, it is the A spellings that occur in this review, which is one of the earliest.

[9] Instances where the three em dash is used to indicate a name are not included.

have you tell him that neither; becauſe there muſt be an end of our correſpondence—I wiſh he may forget me, for the ſake of his own peace; and yet if he ſhould, he muſt be a barbarous——But 'tis impoſſible—poor Wilſon cannot be falſe and inconſtant: I beſeech him not to write to me, nor attempt to ſee me for ſome time; for, conſidering the reſentment and paſſionate temper of my brother Jery, ſuch an attempt might be attended with conſequences which would make us all miſerable for life—let us truſt to time and the chapter of accidents; or rather to that Providence which will not fail, ſooner or later, to reward thoſe that walk in the paths of honour and virtue.—I would offer my love to the young ladies; but it is not fit that any of them ſhould know you have received this letter.—If we go to Bath, I ſhall ſend you my ſimple remarks upon that famous center of polite amuſement, and every other place we may chance to viſit; and I flatter myſelf that my dear Miſs Willis will be punctual in anſwering the letters of her affectionate,

Cliſton, April 6. LYDIA MELFORD.

To

HUMPHRY CLINKER. 13

have you tell him that neither; becauſe there muſt be an end of our correſpondence—I wiſh he may forget me, for the ſake of his own peace; and yet if he ſhould, he muſt be a barbarous——But 'tis impoſſible—poor Wilſon cannot be falſe and inconſtant: I beſeech him not to write to me, nor attempt to ſee me for ſome time; for, conſidering the reſentment and paſſionate temper of my brother Jery, ſuch an attempt might be attended with conſequences which would make us all miſerable for life—let us truſt to time and the chapter of accidents; or rather to that Providence which will not fail, ſooner or later, to reward thoſe that walk in the paths of honour and virtue.—I would offer my love to the young ladies; but it is not fit that any of them ſhould know you have received this letter.—If we go to Bath, I ſhall ſend you my ſimple remarks upon that famous center of polite amuſement, and every other place we may chance to viſit; and I flatter myſelf that my dear Miſs Willis will be punctual in anſwering the letters of her affectionate,

Cliſton, April 6. LYDIA MELFORD.

To

" lady Mac Manus; and being ruſted in " my dancing, I was refreſhing my me- " mory with a little exerciſe; but if I " had known there was a ſick perſon be- " low, by Chriſt! I would have ſooner " danced a hornpipe upon my own head, " than walk the ſofteſt minuet over " yours."—My uncle, who was not a little ſtartled at his firſt appearance, received his compliment with great complacency, inſiſted upon his being ſeated, thanked him for the honour of his viſit, and reprimanded me for my abrupt expoſtulation with a gentleman of his rank and character. Thus tutored, I aſked pardon of the knight, who, forthwith ſtarting up, embraced me ſo cloſe, that I could hardly breathe; and aſſured me, he loved me as his own ſoul. At length, recollecting his night-cap, he pulled it off in ſome confuſion; and, with his baldpate uncovered, made a thouſand apologies to the ladies, as he retired—At that inſtant, the Abbey bells began to ring ſo loud, that we could not hear one another ſpeak; and this peal, as we afterwards learned, was for the honour of Mr. Bullock, an eminent cow-keeper of Tottenham, who had juſt arrived at Bath, to drink the waters for indigeſtion Mr.

HUMPHRY CLINKER. 57

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D 5 Bramble

Vol. I., p. 160, ll. 23-24.

should expose himself to the imputation of pride, at a time when it is expected he should appear humble. Indeed, I know nothing so abject as the behaviour of a man canvassing for a seat in parliament ——This mean prostration, (to borough-electors, especially) has, I imagine, contributed in a great measure to raise that spirit of insolence among the vulgar; which, like the devil, will be found very difficult to lay. Be that as it may, I was in some confusion at the effrontery of Fitz-owen; but I soon recollected myself, and told him, I had not yet determined for whom I should give my vote, nor whether I should give it for any.—The truth is, I look upon both candidates in the same light; and should think myself a traitor to the constitution of my country, if I voted for either. If every elector would bring the same consideration home to his conscience, we should not have such reason to exclaim against the venality of p——ts. But we are all a pack of venal and corrupted rascals; so lost to all sense of honesty, and all tenderness of character, that, in a little time, I am fully persuaded, nothing will be infamous but virtue and public-spirit.

G.

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G.

Vol. I., p. 216, ll. 22-23.

talogues printed of them and the manuscripts, for the information of those that want to consult, or compile from such authorities. I could also wish, for the honour of the nation, that there was a complete apparatus for a course of mathematics, mechanics, and experimental philosophy; and a good salary settled upon an able professor, who should give regular lectures on these subjects.

But this is all idle speculation, which will never be reduced to practice—Considering the temper of the times, it is a wonder to see any institution whatsoever established, for the benefit of the public. The spirit of party is risen to a kind of phrenzy, unknown to former ages, or rather degenerated to a total extinction of honesty and candour—You know I have observed, for some time, that the public papers are become the infamous vehicles of the most cruel and perfidious defamation: every rancorous knave——every desperate incendiary, that can afford to spend half a crown or three shillings, may skulk behind the press of a newsmonger, and have a stab at the first character in the kingdom, without running the least hazard of detection or punishment.

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216 THE EXPEDITION OF

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I have

Vol. II., p. 84, ll. 3-4.

but ſhe, and all of us, will be brought, by the endeavours of Mr. Clinker, to produce bleſſed fruit of generation and repentance.——As for maſter and the young 'ſquire, they have as yet had narro glimpſe of the new light.——I doubt as how their harts are hardened by worldly wiſdom, which, as the pyebill ſaith, is fooliſhneſs in the ſight of God.

O Mary Jones, pray without ſeizing for greaſe to prepare you for the operations of this wonderful inſtrument, which, I hope, will be exorciſed this winter upon you and others at Brambleton-hall. ——To-morrow, we are to ſet out in a cox and four for Yorkſhire; and, I believe, we ſhall travel that way far, and far, and farther than I can tell; but I ſhan't go ſo far as to forget my friends; and Mary Jones will always be remembred as one of them by her

humble ſarvant,

London, June 14. WIN. JENKINS.

84 THE EXPEDITION OF

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Humble ſarvant,

London, June 14. WIN. JENKINS.

To

To

Vol. II., p. 127, ll. 29-30.

ſeemed impoſſible to paſs, without throwing down and trampling upon the women. In the midſt of this anarchy, Mr. Micklewhimmen, with a leathern portmanteau on his back, came running as nimble as a buck along the paſſage; and Tabby, in her under-petticoat, endeavouring to hook him under the arm, that ſhe might eſcape through his protection, he very fairly puſhed her down, crying, "Na, "na, gude faith, charity begins at hame!" Without paying the leaſt reſpect to the ſhrieks and intreaties of his female friends, he charged through the midſt of the crowd, overturning every thing that oppoſed him; and actually fought his way to the bottom of the ſtair-caſe—By this time Clinker had found a ladder, by which he entered the window of my uncle's chamber, where our family was aſſembled, and propoſed that we ſhould make our exit ſucceſſively by that conveyance. The 'ſquire exhorted his ſiſter to begin the deſcent; but, before ſhe could reſolve, her woman, Mrs. Winifred Jenkins, in a tranſport of terror, threw herſelf out at the window upon the ladder, while Humphry dropped upon the ground, that he might receive her in her deſcent——This maiden

HUMPHRY CLINKER. 127

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G 4 was

the floor of the dreſſing-room, then he moves and fixes the horſe to the other end—The perſon within, being ſtripped, opens the door to the ſea-ward, where he finds the guide ready, and plunges headlong into the water——After having bathed, he re-aſcends into the apartment, by the ſteps which had been ſhifted for that purpoſe, and puts on his clothes at his leiſure, while the carriage is drawn back again upon the dry land; ſo that he has nothing further to do, but to open the door, and come down as he went up—Should he be ſo weak or ill as to require a ſervant to put off and on his clothes, there is room enough in the apartment for half a dozen people. The guides who attend the ladies in the water, are of their own ſex, and they and the female bathers have a dreſs of flannel for the ſea; nay, they are provided with other conveniences for the ſupport of decorum. A certain number of the machines are fitted with tilts, that project from the ſea-ward ends of them, ſo as to ſcreen the bathers from the view of all perſons whatſoever—The beach is admirably adapted for this practice, the deſcent being gently gradual, and the ſand ſoft as velvet; but then the machines can be uſed

HUMPHRY CLINKER. 135

the floor of the dreſſing-room, then he moves and fixes the horſe to the other end—The perſon within, being ſtripped, opens the door to the ſea-ward, where he finds the guide ready, and plunges headlong into the water——After having bathed, he re-aſcends into the apartment, by the ſteps which had been ſhifted for that purpoſe, and puts on his clothes at his leiſure, while the carriage is drawn back again upon the dry land; ſo that he has nothing further to do, but to open the door, and come down as he went up—Should he be ſo weak or ill as to require a ſervant to put off and on his clothes, there is room enough in the apartment for half a dozen people. The guides who attend the ladies in the water, are of their own ſex, and they and the female bathers have a dreſs of flannel for the ſea; nay, they are provided with other conveniencies for the ſupport of decorum. A certain number of the machines are fitted with tilts, that project from the ſea-ward ends of them, ſo as to ſcreen the bathers from the view of all perſons whatſoever—The beach is admirably adapted for this practice, the deſcent being gently gradual, and the ſand ſoft as velvet; but then the machines can be uſed

In each case it will be observed that the B compositors, finding themselves too far ahead of A to be able to start a crucial word beneath the same letter of the preceding line that A had that word beginning under, use the three em dash to fill up the line or even to overshoot the letter they need to be beneath at a certain point—an over-correction which for obvious reasons never caused them too much difficulty. The most valuable example, perhaps, to the case in hand is the second, where we have the B typesetter doing what no printer would do except under compulsion. Indeed, it is this example that suggests the ulterior purpose of marking time as the principle behind all these long dashes. If he had been setting from manuscript, he might well have used a dash but not the three em dash at the beginning of a line. The excessive length throws the line too far out of proportion.

What has happened is that B by getting the word *yours* into line 7 has suddenly realized that he has too few words to stretch over the whole of line 8, and not being free to run on at his own rate, has had to mark time with the long dash. Much the same case can be made out for the example from page 13 of the first volume, where once again it appears that if the compositor had been setting from manuscript he would have used a smaller dash and saved space over A by getting more words on the line and generally running ahead of A down the page. This, indeed, is precisely what has happened on page 160 of volume one. B has begun at this point to run two whole words ahead of A. But instead of going ahead and setting evenly and at his own pace the B compositor has had to space out in order to drop back. The noteworthy instances are infrequent, but when the two settings of type are held side by side the awkwardness of the B in the cases cited above nearly always calls attention to itself. A also, it might be added, uses three em dashes for proper names that the writers of the various epistles did not choose to spell out, but in the case of A the usage leads to no awkward idiosyncrasies of setting. The argument that the explanation of A's more graceful setting is really the result of following B, whose awkwardnesses A corrects, seems unjustified in the light of the nature of B's gaucheries. Interestingly, Volume III of B is free from the awkward use of the three em dash. It is there used only for proper names as in A, and the setting is normal.

The direction in which the evidence from dropped catchwords points is not clear. In most cases both A setting and B setting have the same errors in this respect. The two editions differ on pages 54 and 55 of Volume II and pages 10 and 11, and 242 and 243 of Volume III. On pages 54 and 55 A edition has the catchword correctly carried over onto the next page; B drops it at the top of page 55. On pages 242 and 243 B edition has the catchword correctly carried over and A drops it. The same is the case with pages 10 and 11, B carrying the word correctly and A

dropping it. Ordinarily if the catchword has already been caught up correctly in a text from which a compositor is setting we should expect him to begin his new page with the catchword that is already there. By this argument A can hardly be set from B, for in two of the instances of difference in the catching up of catchwords B would have had the correct word for A to follow. On the other hand, on pages 54 and 55 A had the word and B did not follow it. The case is not conclusive.

Of more pertinence, perhaps, is the change in the dates of the letters which occur fourth and fifth from the end of the third volume in the two settings. A edition has October 26 for the fifth and November 8 for the fourth. B edition has October 25 and November 14. Is there a logical basis for such a change, and can such a change be adduced as possible evidence of priority? Is there any internal consideration that necessitated the change? The answer to these questions would seem to be, Yes; and the change in date would seem once again to indicate A as the predecessor of B—on the grounds that there must be time for the banns to be asked for Win Jenkins, whose marriage (quite obviously from the letters of Jery Melford and Win herself on October 14 and Matt Bramble on October 26) was not so early arranged as were those of Lydia and Mrs. Tabitha. Thus whereas the date of November 8 quite fully satisfied the marriage laws[10] in so far as niece and aunt were concerned, it could not possibly satisfy them from the point of view of the maid. A shift in the date of the triple ceremony was, therefore, necessitated, but the need for the change was apparently not detected until the first setting had already been printed. At least, in so far as the present

[10] Renewed emphasis had been placed upon the procedure of the asking of the banns by the Hardwicke Act of 1753. They were to be demanded for all marriages except those of Quakers, Jews, or royalty, or those that had received a special license from a bishop. They were to be asked three times, generally on three successive Sundays, during the canonical hours of eight to twelve in the morning. The penalty for an illegal marriage was fourteen years' transportation and the declaring of the marriage as void. For further details see George Elliott Howard, *A History of Matrimonial Institutions* (Chicago, 1904), I: 458-459.

author has been able to discover, the change does not occur until the second setting of the type.

The precise order of events is somewhat as follows. On October 11 Matt Bramble writes Dr. Lewis that the young lovers, Lydia and George, are at last legitimately together, that a double ceremony is to be performed for them and for Tabitha and Lieutenant Lismahago, and that "next Sunday the banns will be published for all four together." Then on October 14 Jery writes to Sir Watkin that the banns have already been pronounced; and since he announces in this letter that he, Dennison, and Lismahago have been shooting the day before and will be shooting again on the morrow, it seems quite likely that this very day, the fourteenth, is Sunday. If this is so, then the banns are first said on Sunday, October 14, and then again on October 21, and finally for the third time on October 28. Thus Tabitha and Lydia in so far as they themselves are concerned could have been married considerably before November 7, on the 28th or any day thereafter, in fact.

However, Win and Humphry were not so forward in these matters. Jery in his letter of the 14th records that "Clinker, alias Loyd, has a month's mind to play the fool, in the same fashion, with Mrs. Winifred Jenkins"; but it is not until his letter of October 26 that Matt tells us of his approval, and between these two letters he is away a considerable time about the affairs of poor Baynard. The question naturally arises as to what are the days on which the banns could be asked for Clinker and Win. The answer would seem to indicate a series of Sundays involving October 28 and November 4. If Matt were back from his strenuous labors in behalf of Baynard as early as the 19th or 20th, then the 21st might possibly have been the first Sunday. But since Matt does not write and date his letter recording the elaborate and exciting Baynard adventure until the 26th, and since in the alternate dating scheme for the letters the marriages take place on November 13 (Jery's letter of the 14th refers to

the fatigues of the preceding day), it seems probable that the banns for Win and Clinker are first asked on the 28th. As a consequence the setting of the marriage day as November 7 would be a bit premature in Win's case. It is not at all untoward, therefore, to suppose that Smollett[11] himself or some keen-eyed reader discovered the discrepancy in the dating of the letters in the first setting, and that the appropriate correction, to avoid all possibility of being out of step with the custom of the time, was made as soon as possible. Thus one further bit of evidence would seem to indicate the priority of A setting over B.[12]

The general picture, therefore, would seem to have setting A preceding setting B; but just what the rationale of B is, cannot be told from the evidence now at hand. As Randall has pointed out, Collins's account books are no help, for they refer to only three settings of the book.[13] Welsh, from whom we have this bit of information, reprints from the account books itemized entries for the "First Edition" and for the "Second Edition" of August, 1771. In addition, he includes Collins's note to a third

[11] If Smollett himself is responsible for this change, allowance must be made for the fact that he was in Italy at the time *Humphry Clinker* was published. In fact, letters telling him of the success of his book reached him only a few weeks before his death. (See Lewis M. Knapp, *Tobias Smollett: Doctor of Men and Manners* [Princeton, N. J., Princeton University Press, 1949], p. 295.) However, it would have been possible for him to have marked a manuscript change that was overlooked in the first setting or to have forwarded a change in date that had occurred to him after a re-reading of a copy of the manuscript in Italy. Indeed, the long interval between the statement in the *London Chronicle* of January 19-21 that *Clinker* was soon to be published (see Knapp, p. 289n.) and its actual publication in June might argue that Smollett at Leghorn was in considerably closer touch with the publication of his final novel than is generally supposed. At any rate, the ultimate change in the dates of the letters, no matter who was responsible for it, has a real rationale behind it.

[12] The objection has been raised in connection with this argument that the 1772 second edition repeats the incorrect dating used in the A setting. Why, it has been asked, should the final edition repeat an error that had already been corrected? Is it, it might be asked in return, impossible to suppose that a continuity of supervision could have been lost at this point and that the setting that had been first could have seemed just as desirable to reprint as a later one? In short, is it not possible for the return to the questionable dating scheme to be an oversight rather than an intentional change? The decision to reprint the A text rather than the B could hardly have revolved about these two dates.

[13] "*Humphry Clinker*," in "The Court of Appeals" in *The New Colophon*.

edition: "To a Third Edition, No. 1500, printed Feby. 1772, and in the Title called the 2nd, but was the 3rd."[14] But this information, valuable as it is, tells us nothing of the relationship of the B setting to the labels, 1st, 2nd, and 2nd that should have been 3rd. Of the last, of course, we can be certain; for the D setting quite clearly labels itself as a 2nd edition, 1772. Of the rest nothing conclusive is indicated. Randall observes: "This explains the 1771-1772 editions, both on the title page 'Second Edition,' but doesn't help with the two 'firsts.'"[15] But, in reality, the situation is not so simple, for there is no reason for believing that the August second edition is not the B setting rather than the C. It must always be remembered that the B setting appears with its own 1771 Second Edition title page.[16] Of this the editors

[14] See Charles Welsh, *A Bookseller of the Last Century* (New York and London, 1885), pp. 357-358.

[15] "*Humphry Clinker*," in "The Court of Appeals" in *The New Colophon*.

[16] The height of the title pages for each of the settings and the width of the word *Expedition* on those title pages are as follows. The height of the pages is measured from the top of the *The* to the bottom edge of the final line on the page.

Volume I.

	Height	Width
A	12.7 cm.	5.25 cm.
B as 1771 2nd ed.	13.1	6.1
C	12.6	6.0 (barely)
D	13.4	6.05 (generally printing 6.1)

Volume II.

	Height	Width
A	12.7	6.1
B as 1771 2nd ed.	13.05	6.15
C	12.5	5.9 (barely)
D	13.5 (In one copy at N.Y.P.L. printing as deep as 13.6)	6.1

Volume III.

	Height	Width
A	12.8-12.95	6.15
B as 1771 2nd ed.	12.8	6.1
C	12.4	5.9
D	13.4-13.5	6.3

In connection with the B setting, I give at this point the second edition title page under which it appears because this title page is a distinct setting, whereas the first edition title page under which B also appears is the A setting title page.

of the Shakespeare Head Press edition of *Humphry Clinker* were aware when they referred in 1925 to the two "issues" of the second edition of 1771.[17]

Since the first edition described in Collins's account book ran to 2000 copies, whereas the second editions there described ran only to 1500 copies, were settings A and B intended for publication as a single first edition? Again the account book is small help. The figures given for the cost of this edition do not contain any margin for the second setting of type. The cost of paper and printing of the 2000 sets of *Clinker*, as given by Collins, was £155. 15. 6 as compared with £113. 2. 0 for the 1500 sets of the August, 1771, Second Edition. The difference of £42 is just about right for the additional printing and paper costs involved in putting out an extra five hundred sets. A second setting of type that was to be included in the costs of the first edition would have pushed the figure of £155 considerably higher. Moreover, there is the awkward business of the second edition title page for B. Also, there is the fact that there are a considerable number of corrections and improvements in the B text that were not changed in the A. If the two settings had been meant to be issued simultaneously as one edition, it seems probable that the publisher would have brought the two texts as much together as possible.

Could setting B have been intended to be simultaneous with setting C as the August Second Edition? Here the two texts are remarkably close together.[18] Indeed, they look very much like

[17] Tobias Smollett, *Humphry Clinker*, Oxford, 1925, II: 233 (The Shakespeare Head Edition of Smollett's Novels).

[18] In Volume I, C setting, for example, is line by line identical with B from page v of the introductory matter to page 21. Between pages 70 and 80 of the same volume the setting is line by line from B except for the error, "and the slighted/ indisposition" in 11. 12-13 on page 71 of C instead of the correct "and the slightest/ indisposition" in B. Pages 137-145 are line by line alike with B. And between pages 228 and 243 only in line 22 of page 243 do the two settings vary.

Compared with notes that were considerably more extensive than the line readings given above, the C setting of Volume II agreed in every particular with B.

Volume III also proved very close to B, although with slightly more numerous variations.

In addition, C setting agrees with B in the matter of three em dashes. On page

what the printer may have intended to be his ideal copy. Again, however, the costs of paper and printing do not support the supposition. In this case the figure of £113 would have to be considerably higher to allow for the extra setting. Moreover, there is the stumbling block of the first edition title page under which B sometimes appears.

One other major possibility remains. The first setting, Lewis Knapp has shown, was published on June 15, 1771, at least if the *London Chronicle* is to be trusted, the announcement reading: "This day was published In Three Volumes, Price bound 9s *The Expedition of Humphrey* [*sic*] *Clinker* . . . By the Author of Roderick Random. Printed for W. Johnston, in Ludgate-street; and B. Collins at Salisbury."[19] Knapp also records, however, that the *London Chronicle* had first mentioned that *Clinker* was "in the press, and speedily will be published" in the issue for Jan. 19-22 and again in the issue for Jan. 22-24.[20] Assuredly the book was not six months being set. The two resettings of the book recorded in the account book took two and three months respectively.[21] Time for the A setting to have been completed or nearly completed and for a second setting B to have been begun, therefore, would seem to have been available between the date of the first announcement of A and its publication date. Indeed, B's corrections of the A text indicate some such succession in the settings. It is possible, therefore, that B setting occupies a middle status between A and C, and that Johnston and Collins, having some extra sheets left over of the C gathering of Volume II from the A setting and of the title page of Volume I, started first to issue it as the first edition and then turned it into a genu-

after page where the two settings have the three em dashes the two settings are so much alike that only the closest scrutiny will reveal that there are two settings present and not one. C setting, however, tends to use a broken three em dash, whereas the B three em dash is nearly always solid.

[19] Knapp, p. 289n.

[20] *Ibid.*

[21] Welsh, p. 358.

ine second edition. Certainly its ornaments as well as its title pages suggest the middle position. But the record simply is not clear.

Further information from bibliographers and holders of *Clinkers* is needed, therefore, to confirm the exact status of the ambiguous B. For this reason the writer of the present paper would appreciate letters from holders of *Clinkers* and bibliographers concerning the following questions:

1. Does B setting ever appear with other sheets from the A setting besides the C gathering of Volume II?
2. What is the frequency of occurrence of the first edition title page in connection with the B setting?
3. Does A setting ever occur with mixed sheets from B?
4. Does the B setting without the mixed C gathering from A, assuming that the C sheet is the only one that is ever mixed, always have the second edition title page?
5. Is there ever a mixture of sheets between B and C settings?[22]

It does not seem likely that the case concerning the relationship of A and B set out above will be reversed when this information is available, but it is possible that sets of *Clinker*, to which the present author does not have access, might throw some light on the problems of dating the various settings of the book.

One word more needs to be said for the guidance of future editors of the book. Neither the A nor the B setting offers a foolproof text that can be taken as the exact setting that Smollett himself would have preferred. Because of his absence from England and because of uncertainty as to his closeness to the final publication, it is impossible to say whether he had a hand in the

[22] A mixture of sheets between B and C settings seems unlikely because of the slight variation between the fonts from which the two settings were composed, although the author has seen one instance of a sophisticated A edition, the John Smith copy in the Berg Collection in the New York Public Library, where a leaf or two from the C edition occurred in the N gathering of Volume III and was scarcely detectable except to close examination. In this case the ornament first called attention to the stray leaf.

changes between A and B texts or not. And C text follows B exceedingly closely, while D follows A. Thus the cautious editor is left with the problem of carefully balancing A text against B text and the spelling *marred* against the spelling *married*. This kind of editing job the editors of the Shakespeare Head Press seem to have done. They state, in fact, that although they used as their basic text one of the two issues of the second edition of 1771, they made corrections "on the authority of one or more of the other editions or issues."[23] Above, they had taken cognizance of the fact that there had been three issues of the book in 1771 and a fourth in 1772, all done for W. Johnston, in Ludgate-Street and B. Collins in Salisbury. But not all editors by any means have realized even that a problem existed. They have been willing to take either an A version or a B version and do with them quite as they preferred.

[23] The Shakespeare Head Edition, II: 233.

Bibliographical Notes

The Passing of a Noble "Spirit"

In Volume 40, No. 2, of the PAPERS (1946) there appeared a most interesting and informative article by Mr. Carvel Collins on *The Spirit of the Times*. Mr. Collins has done more to direct attention to this excellent sporting periodical than anyone else, and it was here that he pointed out for the first time that there were not one, or two, but actually three separate "Spirits," the first or "Old Spirit" that ran from 1831-1861; the second, known as "Porter's Spirit," commencing in 1856; and the last, "Wilkes' Spirit," which had the longest life, extending from 1859 to 1902.

The present footnote has to do, not with the supernatural (as all this discussion of Spirits might indicate), but merely with the longevity of the middle-born though shortest-lived of the "Spirits," namely Porter's. At the time of Mr. Collins' essay a newly discovered tenth volume of Porter's extended its known life span beyond its formerly certified existence of but nine volumes, and through collateral references Mr. Collins deduced that the paper must have continued into still another volume, as yet undiscovered.

The accuracy of this surmise has been fully substantiated by the recent unearthing by Mr. Ernest R. Gee of a file of this periodical extending from Vol. I, No. 1, Sept. 6, 1856, to Vol. XI, No. 17, December 28, 1861. It was published weekly until Vol. XI, No. 15, Nov. 30, 1861. The next issue, No. 16, came out two weeks later, December 14, and an excerpt from it may shed some light on the paper's conversion from a live Spirit to a dead one:

> To the Friends of Porter's Spirit. War has had a most depressing effect on the sport and sportsmen of our country. The pleasures of the Turf, the Yacht, the Rod or Gun, as the taste may be, cannot be induged [*sic*] in without money and leisure, and the American people, in a panic like the present, are obliged to devote all their time and energy to the stern realities of every day life. Many of our most valued Correspondents have lain down the pen and taken positions in the Army; some from choice, others from necessity. The meagre Racing and Trotting Meetings at the

North during the past season have been, by the advent of Winter, brought to a close; while our usual variety of Southern and Southwestern Racing is entirely cut off from us and our readers, even if any meetings should take place this Winter over the famous Metairie and other celebrated Courses of the Southern Sportsmen. Politics and War Items alone are left for the newspapers, and as these are topics that do not belong to the Spirit of our Publication, we are reluctantly compelled by the actual want of sporting material for the present to issue the SPIRIT only once in each month. Trusting that our national difficulties may soon be adjusted, and PORTER'S SPIRIT again pay its weekly visit to its subscribers and friends with renewed vigor, and all hail the return of Peace and the revival of Manly Sports.

Apparently the war-time hardships, the bitter competition of Wilkes, and the loss of southern subscribers all conspired to defeat the publisher's intention; though the "Spirit" was willing its circulation was weak.

Despite the statement that the paper was now to be brought out once a month its next copy, No. 17, appeared two weeks later, on December 28, 1861, at which time Porter's "Spirit" finally and definitely gave up the ghost.

LINDLEY EBERSTADT

Texans in Leopard Skin Pants

No zoot-suited hep cat could hold more than a very small candle to the sartorial splendor of the late Captain Sam J. Richardson, protagonist, or at least part-time hero, of one of the scarcer of "Confederates," William Williston Heartsill's *Fourteen Hundred and 91 Days in the Confederate Army.*[1]

Richardson's photograph serves as frontispiece to Heartsill's book, and the good captain is a resplendent figure indeed in leopard skin pants, gaudy striped tunic, carbine, enormous Bowie knife, black felt hat, Captain-Teach-type beard, and a pair of *pince-nez* glasses.

But the captain is only a bare introduction to one of the most readable of Texas books. Heartsill, who was metamorphosized from a grocery clerk in Marshall, Texas, to a hard-riding Johnny Reb, is a true historian, and the delight of a bibliomaniac's heart. He also provides support for

[1] Tp: *Fourteen / Hundred / and / 91 / Days, / in the / Confederate Army. /* (rule, cut of horse's head, and rule) */ A Journal, / Kept by W. W. Heartsill. / For Four Years, One Month, and One Day. / Or Camp Life; Day-by-day, / of the / W. P. Lane Rangers. / From April 19th 1861, to May 20th 1865.*

The binder's title, a printed paper label on the spine:
Camp Life / of the / W. P. Lane / Rangers. / (line) / By / W. W. Heartsill.

The book is bound in black cloth. Its height inside the covers: 19.9 cm. Height of boards: 20.7 cm. Width of leaves: 14.4 cm.

the general apprehension felt by Northerners when the subject of Texas is up for discussion.[2]

When he set out for War, Glory, and so forth, Bill Heartsill assigned himself the task of keeping a daily journal of what he saw, what he said, and even of what he thought. He wasn't alone in journal-keeping when he started.

> When the Rangers left Marshall on the 20th day of April 1861, at least one dozen of the "Boys" went to work on their journals, and eleven out of the twelve failed inside of two months. Shouldn't wonder that if facts could be ascertained, that in the two armies, (Federal and Confederate) at least five thousand journals were commenced, and that not over a dozen were finished: during the four years of the war I had the opportunity of investigating and making enquiry, and I never met with a soldier who had kept his journal, even, to the end of the second year. Those who started out to keep a journal know the difficulties, and none other.– The mere writing of the incidents each day did not constitute the trouble, it was to preserve what you had written.
>
> I kept in my pocket a small memorandum book . . . when one of these books was filled up, I sent it home (Marshall, Texas) for safe keeping.

Heartsill saw war from the worm's-eye view—that of the private soldier. Filled with enthusiasm, patriotism, and a number of other more concrete if liquid joys, he rode off to battle. He lists some of the contents of his battle pack that first day, articles carried aboard Heartsill, and Pet, his horse: "Saddle, bridle, saddle blanket, curry comb, horse brush, coffee pot, tin cup, 20 lbs ham, 200 biscuit, 5 lbs coffee, 5 lbs sugar, one large pound cake, 6 shirts, 6 prs socks, 3 prs drawers, 2 prs pants, 2 jackets, 1 pr heavy mud boots, 1 Colt's revolver, one small dirk, four blankets, sixty feet of rope with a twelve inch pin attached . . . and divers and sundry little mementoes from friends."

But the Confederate commissary shortly took care of his surpluses. And the W. P. Lane Rangers, the name his company adopted, saw more than a little of the war in the Trans-Mississippi department. Yet, as in certain other wars within memory, much of the time was spent in sitting around waiting for things to happen. "The Loss Morass is full of the finest fish; principally Trout,[3] and my every day employment is hauling them forth from their liquid homes."

The Rangers were encamped for a number of weeks at Lancaster and

[2] Vide: *How to Conquer Texas Before Texas Conquers Us.* Boston, Redding and Co., 1845. 16 p. 23.8 cm. Wrappers, sewn.

[3] Note the keen discernment of the man which led him to invariably capitalize the favorite fish of most Waltonians, the Trout.

Hudson, Texas. And while there they published a camp newspaper, something on the order of *The Stars and Stripes* which was being put out in the Federal camps to the north. No copies have survived of either *The Camp Hudson Times* or *The Western Pioneer*, but Heartsill reproduces, story for story and column for column, facsimile issues of both papers.

The W. P. Lane Rangers shortly came under their first serious bombardment, by Federal gunboats equipped with very large mortars. Said Bill: "As I now write I am very uncomfortably located behind a scrub oak expecting every moment that one of these big WASH KETTLES will hurt somebody, for they are converting the timber into more pieces than ever did Abraham with his maul and wedge, and the impudent scamps appear to have no regard whatever for a person's feelings."

The W. P. Lane Rangers were forced to withdraw, rapidly. Dispatches came in from General Holmes, many miles distant, ordering them to "hold the place until every man is dead." Heartsill, being one of the prospective cadavers, was a little upset. Says he: "If Granny Holmes was down here where he could smell a little gun powder, he would get better of the 'hold on' fit which has so recently seized him AT LITTLE ROCK."

The war was becoming a disillusioning adventure, and the only officer for whom Heartsill retained much, if any, affection was his company commander, Sam Richardson. A typical observation of Heartsill's could, probably, be echoed by any private soldier in any war: "July 27th . . . the only piece of tomfoolery enacted today is an order prohibiting the men from eating cabbage, the next order I suppose will be to stop us from eating green corn as this article, as well as cabbage, is very scarce, and there is barely enough for the officers and this is the only way they can get any; or rather all. . . ."

Heartsill and his outfit went into the eastern theatre, saw a fair amount of fighting, and then were captured, almost as a unit. After a brief stay at Camp Butler, the notorious prison camp on the shores of Lake Michigan which decimated the ranks of the Confederates with almost the efficiency later to be displayed by one A. Hitler, Heartsill was lucky enough to be exchanged. Put into a new organization, he went over the hill, looking for what was left of his old company, and finally found it.

The W. P. Lane Rangers were re-recruited, and the rookies, just as glory-hot as Heartsill had once been, were champing at the bit. But by April 5, 1864, Heartsill was a calmer man. "Prospects are very flattering for a fight below Shreveport; our boys are very anxious to have a 'Hand' in the game, especially those who have never been in battle; for my part

I am by no means spoiling for a fight as I once was . . . a few brushes has a wonderful cooling effect, and produces a lasting cure."

Throughout the book there are Rumors and rumors of Rumors, of just the same type and authenticity as those which filled the ears of another American army in a more recent conflict. Heartsill lost his credulousness early, and finally began to take a scientific interest in them. On May 6th, 1865, when the end was actually at hand, although not too clearly perceived by General Kirby Smith in his Trans-Mississippi department, or by Heartsill and his comrades, he dispassionately lists the day's crop.

First; Andy Johnson and Secy Stanton have been assasinated[!]. Second; Genl Joe Johnston and Genl Sherman have agreed upon terms of peace, based upon reconstruction; and that the President of the United States will not accept the agreement, consequently Genl S has notified the Mr President of the United States that Joe E J and himself have the power and that they will enforce the proposed terms. Third; England and France have CERTAINLY recognized the Confederate States. Fourth; the Emperor Napoleon has landed a large army on the Texas coast. 5th; Joe Johnston has surrendered with ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY THOUSAND men (the other THREE HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND I suppose were drowned in TAR river, N. C.)

But the Lost Cause was in its last few days. The W. P. Lane Rangers were disbanded, and back to Texas went the survivors, including Heartsill. There was probably a period of disillusion, such as follows most wars. Less than ten years later, however, Heartsill was evidently moved by something to start perpetuating those little memorandum books he had filled so diligently. He had written the journal. Now he proceeded to set it up in type, print it, and later bind it. It is a one-man production that seems to have no exact counterpart in the historical field, if anywhere. He had his difficulties, and he was acutely aware of his own deficiencies.

You will find this journal "Chock full" of three things, first, doings of the W. P. Lane Rangers; second, bad orthography; and thirdly, a great deal of shocking grammar.

In justice to the printing profession, I will state that the mechanical part of the work was done by the writer hereof,—on a small "Octavo Novelty Press," printing one page at a time. The work was done at spare moments during business engagements; printers will know the attending difficulties; for by the time the roller and ink were in good condition for work, the one page was printed, then to be distributed; and by the next day, or three days, or a week, another page was set up and the same difficulties to be encountered. On the 9th day of December 1874, the first page was printed,—the last on the 28th of June 1876. In cold weather, the ink was too thick, in the summer I would sometimes get too much on the roller, and thus I worked, and have succeeded in turning out a very poor work mechanically, and I might truthfully say, altogether.

Sacred history records one event that will never occur again—the flood—and as sure, a "second edition" of this journal will never be printed by the undersigned on an "Octavo Novelty Press."

The book has 265 pages of fine type, and sixty-one pasted-in contemporary photographs of the members of the W. P. Lane Rangers. Among them are Heartsill himself and his hero, Sam Richardson. Five of the photographs occupy a full page apiece, with a guard leaf bound in. The others are in groups of four to a page, also with a guard leaf. None of these leaves are included in the pagination.

Rarity is a matter of definition, and the definition is full of disagreement. Randolph G. Adams has produced as a trial balloon the three criteria of priority, importance, and scarcity. Heartsill's book has fair grounds for claiming rarity when tested by any of the three.

A continuing search, as suggested by Mr. Ernest J. Wessen, has resulted in the definite location of only nine copies, one of which is none too certain. These are in the William L. Clements Library, the Harvard College Library, Wisconsin State Historical Society Library, Texas State Library, George William College in Chicago, the University of North Carolina Library, the University of Florida Library, and the library of Munroe Cockerell of Chicago.[4] Those copies checked are generally similar, although some lack photographs. These may, however, have fallen out or been extracted since publication. Some question as to a possible remainder has been raised, but there is no trace of a remainder if the rare book market over the last few years can be accepted as evidence.

Raines, the Texas bibliographer, appears to have heard of Heartsill, and lists a garbled form of the title.[5] His failure to locate a copy probably indicates that he never saw one, and that he took the title from a secondary source.

First-hand accounts of the War Between the States are common only from the pens of the high brass. First-hand accounts from the Confederate side are scarcer. And source material on the Trans-Mississippi Department of the Confederacy is even more restricted. Although publication began nine years after the close of hostilities, the book was written at the time, by the man who was there, saw what happened, and got it

[4] A ninth copy was sold at the Parke-Bernet Galleries in New York November 6, 1950.

[5] Raines, Cadwell Walton, *A Bibliography of Texas . . . by C. W. Raines . . .*, Austin, Texas, Published for the author by the Gammel Book Co. 1896. Page 111: Heartsill, W. W. History of Gen. W. P. Lane's Regiment. 12mo. Marshall, 1868.

into black and white just as soon thereafter as he could. The fact that in this sense it has priority seems fairly well established.

"Importance" is another matter for subjective judgment. This book is the first-hand story of a man with a sense of humor who went through a war on the losing side. It is also the story of that man's C.O., Captain Richardson, and of his battles with the red tape and petty tyranny of a bureaucratic high command that seems incredible only to those unacquainted with the ways of certain field armies in World War II.

More than this, it is the record of a historian[6] who examines the events in which he was a participant with an amazingly impartial, albeit somewhat jaundiced eye. It is true that he records the highflown oratory of the local politicians who came out in force to bid the boys goodby. And occasionally he goes off into moderate rhapsodies as to the justice and general rightness of the Confederate cause.

But on the whole there is a constant suspicion implicit in the book that William Williston Heartsill, sometime private of the General W. P. Lane Rangers, was off at one side enjoying, sometimes a bit wryly, the trials and tribulations of his fellows, and also of that same William Williston Heartsill.

ROBERT B. BROWN

More Maughamiana

Following is a list of items not mentioned in two recent bibliographies: *Maughamiana* by Raymond Toole Stott (New York, Doubleday, August 3, 1950*) and *A Bibliography of the Writings of W. Somerset Maugham* by Klaus W. Jonas (100 Chester Circle, Raritan Gardens, New Brunswick, N. J., July 1, 1950). I shall greatly appreciate it if any errors existing in my book, or any items I may have overlooked, are brought to my attention. I am preparing an enlarged edition of the bibliography; therefore I shall be grateful for offprints of articles on Mr. Maugham and for information about research in progress. I have recently set up a Center of Maugham Studies at 100 Chester Circle where all writings by Mr.

[6] Polybius, it might be noted, stresses participation as one of the three principal keys to the writing of history. He also postulates a knowledge of topography, in the broad sense, and requires observation of political events. Heartsill to the best of his ability, under his somewhat straitened circumstances, may be said to have fulfilled to a considerable extent the Polybian requirements.

* The Stott bibliography was published in England (London, William Heinemann, Ltd.) in January, 1950, and so actually precedes the Jonas bibliography. *Editor.*

Maugham and all critical material about him will be collected. During this coming winter there will be a Maugham Exhibit of first editions, manuscripts and memorabilia at Rutgers University.

A. WORKS BY W. SOMERSET MAUGHAM

I. *Translations*

1. *Danish:*
Catalina. Translated by M. van Rheden. Copenhagen, Gyldendal, 1949.
2. *Dutch:*
"Kerstmis in Parijs" *(Christmas Holiday).* Translated by A. J. Methorst-Kuiper. 'S Graveland, De Driehoeck, 1949.
3. *French:*
"La villa sur la colline" *(Up at the Villa).* Traduction de Renaud de Saint-Georges. Paris, Les Oeuvres libres, 1948. Nouv. sér. no. 24 (pp. 89-176).
4. "Il suffit d'une nuit" *(Up at the Villa).* Traduction de Renaud de Saint-Georges. Paris, Genève, Les Editions de la Palatine, 1949. (Distributed by Librarie Plon, Paris.)
5. *German:*
"Dort oben in der Villa" *(Up at the Villa).* Einzig autorisierte Übertragung von William G. Frank. Zürich, Steinberg Verlag, 1948.
6. *Hungarian:*
"Örök szolgaság" *(Of Human Bondage).* Translated by Gáspár Miklós and Lány Miklós. Budapest, Bard Ferenc, 194?.
7. "A Legsötétebb öra" *(The Hour Before the Dawn).* Translated by Tabori Mihaly. Budapest, Bard Ferenc es Fia, 1946.
8. "Az Ordag s arkantyuja" *(The Moon and Sixpence).* Budapest, Bard Ferenc.
9. *Italian:*
"La luna e sei soldi" *(The Moon and Sixpence).* Milano, A. Mondadori, 1947. 2 ed. Collezione Medusa: v. 191.
10. *Ashenden.* Translated by Bizarri. Roma, Editrice Faro, 1947.
11. "Il filo del rasoio" *(The Razor's Edge).* Milano, A. Mondadori, 1947. Collezione Medusa: v. 167.
12. "Oggi e allora" *(Then and Now).* Translated by Maria Pastore Mucchi and Sofia Tronzano Usigli. Milano, Mondadori, 1948. Collezione Medusa: v. 205.

12a. *Catalina.* Translated by Maria Napolitano Martone. Milano, Mandadori, May 1950.

13. *Norwegian:*
"Livets Luner" *(The Trembling of a Leaf).* Translated by Jens Zetlitz Kielland. Oslo, Gyldendal, 1923.
14. "Den Gang Som I Dag" *(Then and Now).* Translated by Randi Heddeland. Oslo, Gyldendal, 1948.
15. *Catalina.* Translated by Jo Ørjasaeter. Oslo, Gyldendal, 1949.
16. "Det Farvede Slør" *(The Painted Veil).* Translated by Andreas Hoell. Oslo, Gyldendal, 1950.

17. "Noveller I Utvalg" (Short stories from *Creatures of Circumstance, The Mixture as Before, Here and There,* and *Altogether*). Translated by Petter Magnus. Oslo, Gyldendal, 1950.
18. *Spanish:*
"A orillas del Támesis" *(First Person Singular)*. Translated by J. Romero de Tejada. Barcelona, Lara, 1946. 2d ed.
19. "Cautiva de amor" *(Mrs. Craddock)*. Translated by Mercedes Rubio. Barcelona, Lara, 1946.
20. "Cosmopolitas" *(Cosmopolitans)*. Translated by Isidoro Guerrero. Barcelona, Lara, 1946.
21. "El agente secreto" *(Ashenden)*. Translated by R. García Adamuz. Barcelona, Lara, 1946. 2d ed.
22. "El filo de la navaja" *(The Razor's Edge)*. Translated by Fernando Calleja. Barcelona, Lara, 1946.
23. Same. Madrid, La Nave, 1946.
24. "El peso del hombre" *(The Narrow Corner)*. Translated by J. Romero de Tejada. Barcelona, Lara, 1946. 3d ed.
25. "El velo pintado; aventura en Tching-Yen" *(The Painted Veil)*. Translated, with a preface, by J. Romero de Tejada. Barcelona, Lara, 1946. 3d ed.
26. "En los mares del sur" *(Stories from East and West)*. Translated by J. Romero de Tejada. Barcelona, Lara, 1946. 4th ed.
27. "Extremo oriente" *(Stories from East and West)*. Translated by J. Romero de Tejada. Barcelona, Lara, 1946, 3d ed.
28. "La otra comedia" *(Theatre)*. Translated by J. Romero de Tejada. Barcelona, Lara, 1946.
29. "Luz en el alma" *(Christmas Holiday)*. Translated by Fernando Gutierrez. Barcelona, Lara, 1946.
30. "Rosie" *(Cakes and Ale)*. Translated by Manuel Vallvé. Barcelona, Lara, 1946.
31. "Servidumbre humana" *(Of Human Bondage)*. Translated by Enrique de Juan. Barcelona, Lara, 1946. 2d ed.
32. "Servidumbre humana" *(Of Human Bondage)*. Translated by Lillian Lorca. Santiago de Chile, Zig-zag, 1946. 3d ed.
33. "Mi criado chino" *(Ah King)*. Translated by J. Romero de Tejada. Barcelona, Lara, 1946.
34. "Una hora antes del amanecer" *(The Hour Before the Dawn)*. Translated by Manuel Vallvé. Barcelona, Lara, 1946. 2d ed.
35. "El fruto prohibido" *(Four Stories from East and West)*. Translated by Henriette Morvan. Santiago de Chile, Zig-zag, 1947.

II. *Translations in Preparation*

José Janés, Barcelona, is preparing Spanish translations of *Catalina* and *A Writer's Notebook.*

La Librairie Plon, Paris, is preparing French translations of *Creatures of Circumstance, Theatre, The Gentleman in the Parlour,* and *Don Fernando.*

De Driehoek, -S' Graveland, is preparing Dutch translations of *Of Human Bondage, Cakes and Ale,* and *Short Stories.*

III. *Contributions to Anthologies*

36. *The Best Plays of 1921-1922 and the Year Book of the Drama in America.* Boston, Small, Maynard Co., 1920. *(The Circle.)*
37. Burnett, Whit, *ed. The World's Best. An Anthology.* New York, The Dial Press, 1950. ("Truth, Beauty, and Goodness," from *The Summing Up.*)
38. Cordell, Richard A., *ed. Twentieth Century Plays. British, American, Continental; Eleven Representative Selections.* 3d ed. New York, The Ronald Press, 1947. *(The Circle.)*
39. Cordell, Richard A., and Chandler, Frank W., *eds. Twentieth Century Plays. British, American, Continental.* New York, The Ronald Press, 1941. *(The Breadwinner.)*
40. Same. Rev. ed. New York, Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1939. *(The Breadwinner.)*
41. Gordon, Caroline, and Tate, Allen, *eds. The House of Fiction; An Anthology of the Short Story with Commentary.* New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950. *(Red.)*
42. Hatcher, Harlan, *ed. Modern British Dramas.* New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1941. *(The Constant Wife.)*
43. Huntington, Charles, *ed. Representative Modern Dramas.* New York, The Macmillan Company, 1936. *(Our Betters.)*
44. Mantle, Burns, *ed. Best Plays of 1926/27, and the Year Book of the Drama in America.* New York, Dodd, 1927. *(The Constant Wife.)*
45. Moses, Montrose Jonas, *ed. Representative British Dramas. Victorian and Modern.* New revised edition. Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1931. *(Our Betters.)*
46. ———. *Dramas of Modernism and Their Forerunners.* Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1931. *(The Circle.)*
47. *Saturday Review of Literature* (periodical). *Writing for Love or Money.* Ed. by Norman Cousins. N. Y., Longmans, 1949. ("How I Write Short Stories.")
48. Tucker, Samuel Marion, *ed. Twenty-Five Modern Plays.* New York, Harper, 1931. *(The Circle.)*
49. Whitman, C. H., *ed. Representative Modern Dramas.* New York, The Macmillan Co., 1936. *(Our Betters.)*
50. Woollcott, Alexander, *comp. Second Reader.* New York, The Viking Press, 1937. *(Cakes and Ale.)*

IV. *Contributions to Periodicals*

51. "Melville und sein Moby Dick" (German translation). *Die Amerikanische Rundschau* (München). Vol. VI, no. 29, pp. 64-75. Feb.-March, 1950.
52. "Zurbaran." *The Cornhill Magazine.* No. 983. Summer 1950. London, John Murray.

V. *Continental Editions*

53. *The Yellow Streak.* Leipzig, B. Tauchnitz, 1939. Students' Series No. 52.
54. *The Moon and Sixpence.* Milan, A. Mondadori. The Albatross: No. 5026.
55. *The Narrow Corner.* Milan, A. Mondadori. The Albatross: No. 5098.
56. *Theatre.* Milan, A. Mondadori. The Albatross: No. 5295.

B. BIOGRAPHY AND CRITICISM

56a. Alpert, Hollis. "Three from a Very Old Party" ("Trio"). *Saturday Review of Literature*, 7 October 1950, pp. 50-52.

57. Anon. "Die Darstellung der englischen Gesellschaft in W. Somerset Maughams Lustspiel 'Jack Straw.'" *Zeitschrift für neusprachlichen Unterricht* (Germany): Vol. XXXVIII, Heft 1, 1939.

58. Anon. "Before the Party—Dramatization by R. Ackland." *Illustrated London News:* No. 215. 19 November 1949, p. 788.

59. Anon. "Theatre—Dramatization by Guy Reginald Bolton." *Christian Science Monitor*, 22 April 1950, p. 5.

60. Anon. "Liebesgedichte gefährden eine Ehe: Verfilmte Novelle von Somerset Maugham." (About "The Colonel's Lady," from *Quartet.*) Illus. *Frankfurter Illustrierte* (Frankfurt, Germany), Mitte Mai 1950. No. 10, p. 8.

61. Crowther, Bosley. "Quartet." *The New York Times*, 29 March 1949.

62. Dempsey, David. "Visitor." *The New York Times Book Review*, 1 October 1950.

63. Freedgood, M. E. "Maugham on 'Trio.' Author Returns to Films in British-Made Movie." *The New York Times*, 9 July 1950.

64. Gordon, Caroline. "Notes on Chekhov and Maugham." *Sewanee Review*, Vol. LVII, No. 3. Summer issue, 1949.

65. Humbert, H. et P. "Le sense de la vie chez W. Somerset Maugham." *La Vie Intellectuelle*, July 1946.

66. Jonas, Klaus W. "Somerset Maugham schreibt seinen letzten Roman." *Das Weltbild* (Germany). May 1947.

66a. Morley, Christopher. "Gin and Quinine Tonic." (Review of *The Maugham Reader.*) *The New York Times Book Review*, 3 October 1950.

67. O'Hearn, W. "De senectute." *Commonweal.* Vol. L, 16 September 1949, pp. 553-555.

68. Peyton, Bernard, Jr. "Maugham Here to See Film He Missed at Home." (Interview.) *New York Herald-Tribune*, 28 September 1950.

69. Pryor, Thomas M. "Some New Words from an 'Old Party.'" (Interview.) (About *Trio*) *The New York Times*, 1 October 1950.

70. Rhodes, R. "Maugham Cinematized." *(Quartet.) Saturday Review of Literature*, Vol. XXXII, 18 June 1949, p. 11.

71. Vallette, Jacques. "Le Yogi de Maugham." *Le Mercure de France*, 1 May 1947, pp. 163-165.

72. Webster, H. T. "Possible Influence of George Gissing's 'Workers in the Dawn' on Maugham's 'Of Human Bondage.'" *Modern Language Quarterly*, Vol. VII, September 1946, p. 315.

Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertations:

73. Alle, Fritz. *Der Gebrauch der umschriebenen Zeitformen in Romanen W. Somerset Maughams.* Inaugural-Dissertation. The University of Graz (Austria), 1949.

74. Strastil-Strassenheim, Edmund. *Die Kunst der Personenbeschreibung in Romanen John Galsworthys, W. Somerset Maughams und Graham Greenes.* Inaugural-Dissertation. The University of Graz (Austria), 1949.

C. MISCELLANEOUS

75. Presentation of the MS of "The Ordeal of Richard Carey" which later became *Of Human Bondage*, to the Library of Congress. 11 October 1950.
76. Anon. "Another Bibliography of Mr. Maugham." *The Times Literary Supplement*, 22 September 1950.

KLAUS W. JONAS

Book Reviews

Jesuit Relations and Other Americana in the Library of James F. Bell. A Catalogue compiled by Frank K. Walter and Virginia Doneghy. Minneapolis, The University of Minnesota Press, 1950. xii, 419 pp. Portrait, facsimiles. 10 x 7¼ inches. $25.00.

The "Foreword" states: "The James F. Bell collection of Americana, of which this is a catalogue, consists primarily of fundamental accounts of the discoveries of America, the later discoveries and explorations of eastern and central Canada, the Red River and Upper Mississippi valleys, and the Great Lakes region adjacent to them, and the voyages and expeditions in search of a Northwest Passage to the Pacific Ocean by way of Hudson Bay."

To carry out this scope Mr. Bell particularly concentrated on the editions and varieties of the annual *Jesuit Relations*, published from 1632 to 1673, inclusive; and 194 pages of the catalogue (almost half of it) are devoted to minute bibliographical analyses of them, accompanied by facsimiles of title-pages and other pages on pp. 132-194.

The Bell collection of these *Relations* is one of the best extant in private hands, and on a par with the collection of the late James Comly McCoy. Only four of the forty-one annuals are lacking in the Bell collection. Even James Lenox could never get the first one of Paul Le Jeune (Paris, 1632), and the Lenox series was completed only in 1894, when the George Bancroft Library was purchased, with a definite desire to get that item in it. The four lacking in the Bell collection are this one of Le Jeune (1632), the Le Mercier fragment of *Copie de deux Lettres* (Paris, 1656), and the *Relations* of 1657-59, and 1658-59, perhaps forever unprocurable.

It is of interest to realize that James Ford Bell, a native of Philadelphia, but whose interests have been from early life in Minnesota as merchant-miller in General Mills, and Mr. McCoy, a native of Urbana, Illinois, should have had independently so large and uniform interests in collecting the *Relations* and Canadiana; and were friendly and coöperating rivals

in that field of bibliophilism. The contemporary Americana Collection of the late Herschel V. Jones, also of Minneapolis, while of broader scope, had only two of the *Relations*, for 1648-49, and 1663-64. This reviewer was told that Mr. Jones purposely left that field to Mr. Bell. It is pleasant to know that the Bell collection is still in his possession to enjoy; that of McCoy, who died in January, 1934, remains with his family, and the Jones collection has been sold, as is well known to us.

The McCoy bibliography of the *Relations* was published at Paris in 1937, with a lucid "Introduction" by our good friend Dr. Wroth, who asked me to write a review of the work for *Books* of the *New York Herald-Tribune*, of October 24, 1937, and quotations from that review, so comparable for this review, may be cited for better access than the files of a newspaper. It said: "Besides presenting careful technical collations by signatures and pagination, the title-pages are quite generally reproduced in facsimile—a happy feature. . . . It is of course true that many variants are corrections in the press and have only a dilettante interest, but some textual changes occur and are of importance." Mr. McCoy and Mr. Bell by comparing numerous copies have noted variants by "cancellations, differences of phraseology and spelling, and corrections in the text of sufficient significance to demand the attention of the student." The present reviewer, as Bibliographical Adviser to the 73-volume set of Thwaites's monumental work, had to compare many copies in order to aid Dr. Thwaites in selecting one best to reproduce in text and translation. Mr. Walter in the Foreword to the Bell volume kindly said: "Paltsits utilized and expanded the work of Harrisse and of James Lenox," and "In the Thwaites edition, Paltsits contributed the most scholarly and most detailed descriptions of the principal variants of the *Relations* that had been prepared up to that date."

Both for the history of the *Relations* as for the early history of Canada we repeat from the earlier review in the *Herald Tribune*, thus: "When this series of *Relations* was begun in 1632, Canada had already experienced several of its foundations—at Port Royal (now Annapolis) in 1603, as the first French agricultural settlement in America, and in 1608 when Champlain erected on the rock of Quebec the first permanent post. Even for a hundred years before there were hectic experiments to found a colony in New France. The first missionaries who arrived at the dawn of the seventeenth century with Sieur De Monts, a Calvinist, were Huguenot clergy for the settlers and Catholic priests for the Indians. This dual attempt in Acadia was too short-lived to be praised. Only in 1610 were the first In-

dians baptized by a secular priest. But in June, 1611, arrived the first Jesuits, Fathers Pierre Biard and Ennemond Massé, coming at the instance of Henry IV. They were not hospitably welcomed. Their lives were harassed or in jeopardy. Champlain had in 1615 introduced at Quebec four Récollets of the order of St. Francis. Ten years they carried on in the woods among the Canadian savages. In 1625 they were impelled by hardships of the task to invoke the aid of the more powerful Jesuits whose missionary successes in other continents had been heralded in the Church. The first of these who now came were Fathers Massé, formerly in Old Acadia, Charles Lalement and Jean de Brébeuf, whose summer missions were set up at Tadousac, Quebec, and Three Rivers, but who roved with the savages during their winter hunts.

"English naval expeditions in 1628-1629 for a while put an end to the French régime in North America. Only in 1632, when Canada was given back to Europe, was the extraordinary period of Jesuit missions in North America initiated. This year of 1632 is a significant date in the history of Canada, when on July 5th there landed at Quebec Fathers Paul le Jeune and Anne de Nouë, and a lay brother named Gilbert. Le Jeune was the Superior. They had been placed in charge, by the home authorities, of the spiritual interests of both settlers and Indians, and the history of their greatest missions began at this time. This year also saw the first publication of the series of *Jesuit Relations*, and Champlain's last and comprehensive collection of *Voyages*, and he died in 1635."

These *Relations*, notwithstanding their exposition by Parkman, and others, are yet their own best history, and so ably made available in texts and translations edited by Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites—a set that included not only the series of annuals from 1632 to 1673, a period of only forty years, during the French occupation period from Richelieu to Colbert, but for the whole period of nearly two centuries, until the banishment of the Jesuits from Canada.

The Americana, embracing the scope described at the beginning of this review, covers pp. 201-412, preceded by some manuscripts and autographs. The printed items are arranged chronologically by imprint date, and begin with the German Marco Polo (Nuremberg, 1477), and end with a Cyprian Southack map of 1717, reproduced in 1942. In between are such rarities as the first issue of the Plannck Latin Columbus letter (1493); Peter Martyr, with the map (1511); and editions of Thevet, Cartier, Hakluyt, Champlain (including the rare undated *De Sauvages* [1603]), Lescarbot, Sagard, Du Creux, Nicolas Denys, Thévenot, Hen-

nepin, Le Clercq, Tonti, Lahontan—to mention but a few of earlier date. There is an author index on pp. 415-419.

The compilation of the *Catalogue* began with Mr. Bell, aided by Mrs. Bertha Berg Jespersen, a member of his office staff, to whom "full credit for any merits" is given for her "careful collation" of the *Jesuit Relations*. From here on Frank K. Walter, Librarian Emeritus of the University of Minnesota, undertook the preparation of the *Catalogue* for printing; but he died after he had "completed work on the *Jesuit Relations*," and he "never saw the completed manuscript and so had no opportunity to revise or amend it." He had "done very little on the second part of the catalogue." That, as the title-page shows, fell to Virginia Doneghy. In view of the circumstances recited, this reviewer abstains from pointing out errors. Having just written a biography of Henry Stevens, he quotes from Stevens's conclusion to *Nuggets* (1885):

> We own to having once, a long time ago, had pride of accuracy in cataloguing, but we now confess that our experience during the past half century has well nigh taken it out of us. We have never seen a perfect Catalogue.

VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS

Das Deutsche Buch: Neuerscheinungen der Deutschen Verlage. Im Auftrage des Börsenvereins deutscher Verleger—und Buchhändler-Verbände herausgegeben von Hanns W. Epplesheimer, Direktor der Deutschen Bibliothek zu Frankfurt/Main. Frankfurt am Main, Buchhändler-Vereinigung, G.M.B.H., 1950. (4), 82 pp., 1 l. 8 x 5 inches.

This new listing of current German books gives the world one more demonstration that for Germany as well as for regions farther to the eastward "East is East, and West is West." Let us hope that the "never" in Kipling's next line is not to be realized in the book trade.

We now have the Deutsche Bücherei at Leipzig and its Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; have had them since soon after hostilities ceased. The new title noted above tells us that we have also a Deutsche Bibliothek in Frankfurt am Main with its own Bibliographie der Deutschen Bibliothek. Each is superbly indifferent to the other, at least so far as official recognition is concerned.

Numbers 37-44 of the Frankfurt Bibliographie covering the October-November issues have been cumulated into this present offering, to be continued every two months.

The man trying to cover the German book trade now must look into two sets of trade lists, and the chances seem slim that he can be sure even then that he has exhausted the field once he thinks he may stop.

Leipzig output is not omitted entirely in the Frankfurt list, though the notices are so few as to call for special attention. With no copy of the Leipzig list at hand, I venture to say that its notices of western zone publications scarcely dwarf the eastern zone record. Neither is complete for Germany as a whole. Speculation lies wide open as to how many items escape entry in either.

"Das Deutsche Buch" opens with a preface in German, English, French, and Spanish signed by Dr. Epplesheimer as editor and as Direktor of the Frankfurt "Deutsche Bibliothek"; also by Carl Hanser as chairman of the "Boersenverein Deutscher Verleger- und Buchhändlerverbände."

Entries are in twenty-one groups: general books and bibliography come first; last is the record of new periodicals with an important noting of older titles suspended during the war and now resuming publication.

A "Zeitungs- und Zeitschriften-Katalog, 1949" is noted as a publication of Columbiaverlagsgesellschaft in Berlin. The newspapers are arranged under occupation zones; the periodicals first by place of publication, next by subject.

This first group lists, too, Karl Klingspor's reminiscences of fifty years under title of "Ueber Schönheit von Schrift und Druck" (Frankfurt am Main, Schauer); also "Das ABC-Büchlein" with drawings by Rudolf and Berthold Wolfe done into wood and metal engravings by Fritz Kredel and Gustav Eichenauer (Wiesbaden, Insel Verlag).

It all makes one ponder as to the fate of German publishing. Is Leipzig to regain its dominant position? How significant is the growing movement of publishers away from it? How permanent is the establishment of publishers in Wiesbaden and Stuttgart and Frankfurt? What is the fate of Berlin?

H. M. Lydenberg

Hart, James D. *The Popular Book: A History of America's Literary Taste.* New York, Oxford University Press, 1950. 351 pp. Plates. 9¼ x 6 inches. $5.00.

Two years after the publication of Frank Luther Mott's *Golden Multitudes* (New York, The Macmillan Co.), the story of best sellers in the

United States, James D. Hart has given us a volume that complements it perfectly. Taken together the two books form about as thorough a study of American reading habits since 1662 as anyone is likely to provide for some time.

Professor Hart admits to a bit of scholarly conniving with Professor Mott, who sent him the galley proofs of *Golden Multitudes* and generously urged him to complete *The Popular Book*. Mott pointed out correctly that their tasks were somewhat different, because the older book was concerned only with best sellers, while Hart, as he puts it, dealt with "popular reading tastes related to social pressures." This forward pass from the University of Missouri to the University of California resulted in frequent confirmation of Hart's researches, but it also emphasized the difference in interpretations of popularity. By Mott's definition, a book was only a best seller if it had enjoyed a sale since publication equal to one per cent of the country's population at the time it was issued. By Hart's standards, a book was popular if it achieved popularity in its own time—and whether public interest shaped the popular book or the reverse, he has wisely chosen not to say in flat terms.

Between the two, an overall view of America's literary taste is afforded for readers both casual and scholarly. What has that taste been, generally speaking? Well—deplorable, on the whole. Deplorable, that is, from a literary standpoint. Just how bad it was can be judged from such comparatively recent samples as Harold Bell Wright's immensely popular novel, *Their Yesterdays*. It began:

> There was a man.
>
> And it happened—as such things often so happen—that this man went back into his days that were gone. Again and again and again he went back. Even as every man, even as you and I, so this man went back into his Yesterdays.
>
> Then—why then there was a woman. . . .

And so on, in a fragrant vein that seems almost burlesque.

It is difficult, however, to be too hard on the tastes of 1912 when we begin to get down in the chronological index to *Forever Amber*. We have our ripe specimens today, too, yet it is possible to feel that the tremendous social pressures of our time may be producing popular books of a considerably higher calibre than at any other period in our history—books like *A Bell For Adano, Gentleman's Agreement, The Young Lions,* and others like them. So, too, the unabashed romanticism of historical novels, which had no other face in Robert W. Chambers' time, now balances *The Foxes of Harrow* with solid achievement like *Oliver Wiswell*.

For this reviewer, Professor Hart's consideration of the popular book in terms of its social setting is much more fascinating to contemplate than the factual story of best sellers. But curiously, the factual story Mott tells is easier reading and is, in general, the better written of the two. One might also carp at Hart's chronological index, which ought to be more complete than it is. However, this is more than balanced with a chapter-by-chapter bibliographical checklist, of particular value to the specialist and scholar.

To round out the comparison, Oxford has given Hart a fine sendoff physically, from dust jacket to the excellent typographical layout on good paper, while Macmillan's production of *Golden Multitudes* is a poor excuse for bookmaking, to put it charitably.

Comparison and criticism aside, the two books are unique and invaluable, and they belong together on the shelves of every bookman. They are superb source books, not only for the statistical facts they contain, but because they define the rich vein of printed gold in our national life that rewards assiduous diggers into the past. One may favor the best-selling nuggets with a literary sneer, but in the popular books and in such source material as the files of the *Saturday Evening Post*,[1] one will find a far truer reflection of how Americans felt and thought about themselves at any given time than in the pages of formal history.

JOHN TEBBEL

[1] Cf. John Tebbel, *George Horace Lorimer and The Saturday Evening Post* (N. Y., Doubleday, 1948). *Editor.*

Letter to the Editor

Editor
PAPERS of the Bibliographical Society of America
Sir:

Mr. Cecil Lang, of Yale University, has called my attention to a note by I. B. Cauthen, Jr., on "Swinburne's Letter Concerning Poe," published in the PAPERS (44: 185-190).

I was naturally much interested in Mr. Cauthen's note, which treats the same problem I was concerned with in an earlier note for MLN (64: 177-178, March 1949) and, I was gratified to observe, reaches precisely the same conclusion. Naturally, then, I agree with most of what Mr. Cauthen has to say. There is, however, one error in Mr. Cauthen's note, which states (footnote 1a, p. 186): "The Bonchurch editors assign the translation itself to Mallarmé (see footnote 2, Letter XCII); Mr. Bandy, *op. cit.*, has pointed out that 'This editorial footnote is erroneous: This version of the Marginalia was not by Mallarmé, but by Augusta Holmes.' The Introduction, however, is by Mallarmé." Presumably, the statement contained in the last sentence I have quoted is based on Mr. Cauthen's expansion of the initials "C. M.", which follow the introductory note, into "C/harles/ M/allarmé/." Such an expansion is incorrect, for Mallarmé's first name was Stéphane, and not Charles. Although I have not actually seen the note itself, it would appear reasonable and even quite probable that the initials are those of Catulle Mendès, the editor-in-chief of the *République des Lettres*, where the translation and note appeared.

W. T. BANDY

THE AUTHORS IN THIS ISSUE

Beverly McAnear, Assistant Professor of Social Sciences at State Teachers College, New Paltz, N. Y., is on leave of absence in Germany until autumn of next year.

Franklin B. Newman is an instructor in English in the College of Literature, Science, and the Arts of the University of Michigan. He is engaged in editing for the Oxford University Press, with two colleagues, a collection of short stories. Dr. Newman received his Ph.D. from Harvard; his undergraduate work was at the University of Pennsylvania.

FUTURE MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

The Mid-Winter Meeting of the Society will be held in New York at the New-York Historical Society, Central Park West and 77th Street, on Friday afternoon, January 26, 1951.

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